

PARADISE REGAIN'D.

A  
P O E M,  
IN  
F O U R B O O K S.

To which is added

SAMSON AGONISTES:

AND

POEMS upon SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

The AUTHOR

*J O H N M I L T O N.*

---

The THIRD EDITION,  
With NOTES of various AUTHORS,  
By THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

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VOLUME *the* FIRST.

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L O N D O N:

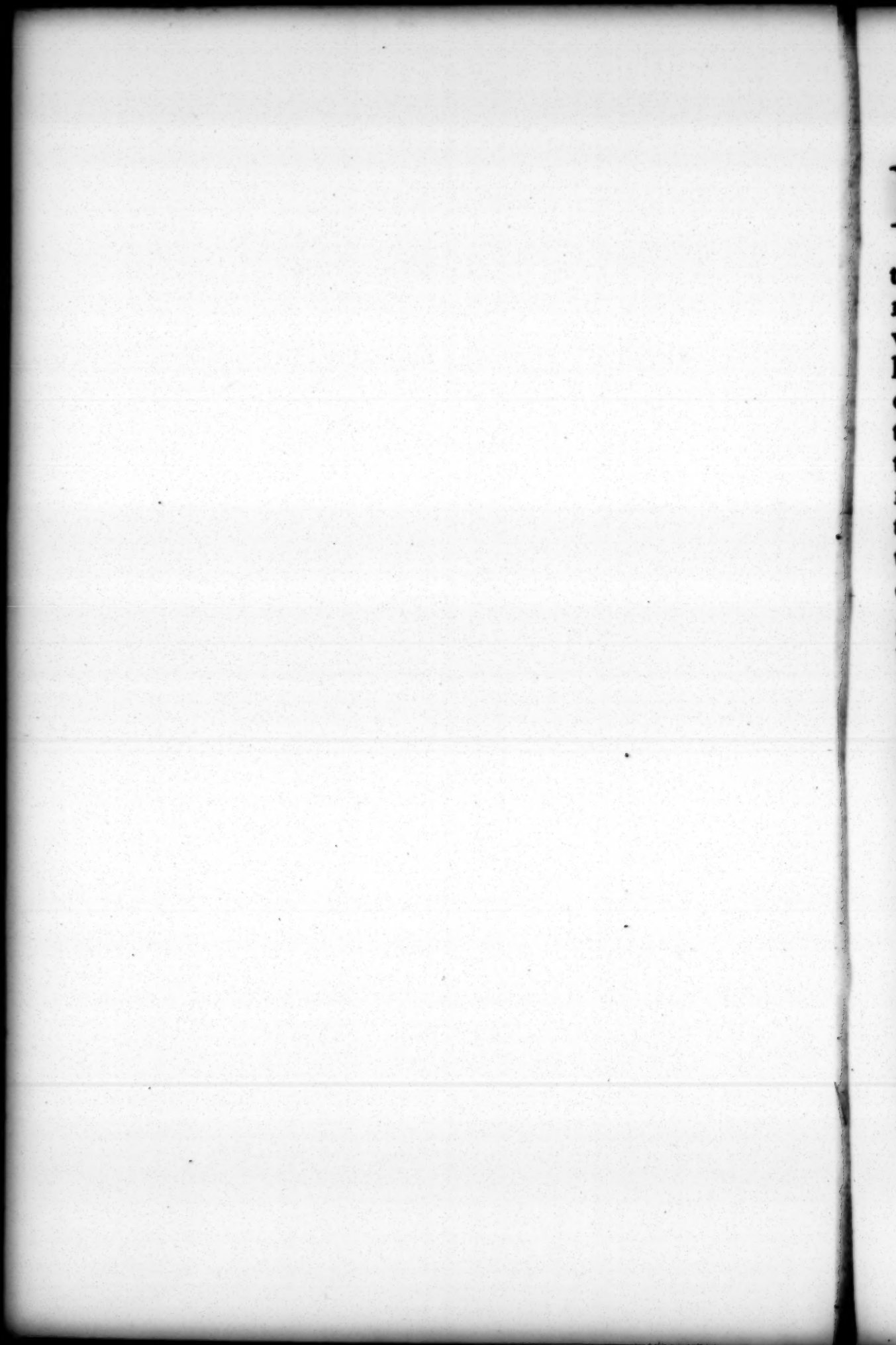
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# P R E F A C E.

**I**T hath been recommended to me by some great persons, as well as by several friends, to complete the edition of Milton's poetical works: for tho' the *Paradise Lost* be the flower of epic poesy, and the noblest effort of genius; yet here are other poems which are no less excellent in their kind, and if they have not that sublimity and majesty, are at least equally beautiful and pleasing to the imagination. And the same method that was taken in the publication of the *Paradise Lost*, is pursued in this edition of the *Paradise Regain'd* and other poems, first to exhibit the true and genuin text according to Milton's own editions, and then to illustrate it with notes critical and explanatory of various authors. Of the *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* there was only one edition in Milton's life-time, in the year 1671; and this we have made our standard, correcting only what the author himself would have corrected. Dr. Bentley pronounces it to be without faults, but there is a large table of Errata at the end, which instead of being emended have rather been augmented in the following editions, and were never corrected in any edition that I have seen before the present. Of the other poems there were two editions in Milton's life-time, the first in 1645 before he was blind, and the other with some additions in 1673. Of the *Mask* there was likewise an edition publish'd by Mr. Henry Lawes in 1637: and of the *Mask* and several other poems there are extant copies in Milton's own hand writing, preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge: and all these copies and editions have

## P R E F A C E.

been carefully collated and compared together, the differences and variations are noted, and even the poet's corrections and alterations in his Manuscript are specified for the satisfaction of the curious critical reader. The Manuscript indeed hath been of singular service in rectifying several passages, and especially in the Sonnets, some of which were not printed till many years after Milton's death, and were then printed imperfect and deficient both in sense and meter, but are now by the help of the Manuscript restored to their just harmony and original perfection. From the Manuscript too we have given the plan of *Paradise Lost*, as Milton first designed it, in the form of a tragedy, and likewise the subjects which he had sketched out for other tragedies, whether with an intention ever to finish them or not we cannot be certain. They were printed before in the *Historical and Critical Life of Milton* prefixed to his prose works by the learned and ingenious Mr. Birch, who is continually adding something new to the stock of learning: but it was judged proper to reprint them from the Manuscript in this edition, as they bear a nearer relation to the author's poetical works.

The notes, as upon the *Paradise Lost*, so likewise upon the *Paradise Regain'd* and other poems, are of various authors and of various kinds: but these, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them, as well as some names of the first rank and greatest eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my assertion will be fully justify'd by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin, who while they  
are



## P R E F A C E.

are employ'd in writing the most learned and elaborate defenses of religion, yet find leisure to cultivate the politer arts, and to promote and improve both in themselves and others a classical taste of the finest authors: and whatever may be the success, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me so many convincing proofs of their friendship and kindness, and at the same time hath happily conjoined (what perhaps might never 'else have been joined together) my studies and my name with theirs. I am equally obliged too to Mr. Thyer for the continuation of his friendly assistance; and the reader will find the same good sense, and learning, and ingenuity in these, as in his former remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*. And now he hath gone thro' Milton's poetical works, I hope he will do the same justice to another of our greatest English poets, and gratify the public with a complete edition of Spenser's works, or at least with his equally learned equally elegant observations upon them. I would not be understood by this to disparage in the least Mr. Upton's intended edition, or Mr. Sympfon's, who is my friend, and hath kindly assisted me in this edition, as well as in that of the *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Upton is certainly a man of great learning, and so likewise is Mr. Sympfon, and particularly well read in our old English authors, as appears from his share in the late excellent edition of Beaumont's and Fletcher's works: but I know no man, who hath a juster and more delicate taste of the beauties of an author than Mr. Thyer, or is a greater master of the Italian language and Italian poetry, which in Spenser's time was the study  
and

## P R E F A C E.

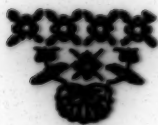
and delight of all the men of letters, and Spenser himself hath borrowed more from that source than from almost any other, and sometimes hath translated two or three stanza's together. Mr. Richardson likewise hath continued his good offices, and communicated his comment upon Lycidas and his marginal notes and observations upon the other poems, together with a very fine head of Milton done by his father after a drawing of Cooper: and both the Richardsons father and son deserve the thanks of all lovers of the sister arts, for their instructive essays on painting, as well as for several ingenious remarks on Milton. I had the honor of all these for my associates and assistants before, but I have been farther strengthen'd by some new recruits, which were the more unexpected, as they were sent me from gentlemen, with whom I never had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. The reverend Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester, in 1732 published a Critical Dissertation with notes upon the Paradise Regain'd, a second edition of which was printed in 1748; and he likewise transmitted to me a sheet of his manuscript remarks, wherein he hath happily explained a most difficult passage in Lycidas better than any man had done before him. The reverend Mr. Calton of Marton in Lincolnshire hath contributed much more to my assistance: he favor'd me with a long correspondence; and I am at a loss which to commend most, his candor as a friend, or his penetration and learning as a critic and divine. Besides all these helps I have pickt out some grain from among the chaff of Mr. Peck's remarks, and have gleaned up every thing which I thought might  
any

## P R E F A C E.

any ways be useful towards illustrating our author; and in the conclusion have added an index of the less common words occasionally explained in the notes.

The Latin poems I cannot say are equal to several of his English compositions: but yet they are not without their merit; they are not a Cento like most of the modern Latin poetry; there is spirit, invention, and other marks and tokens of a rising genius; for it should be considered, that the greater part of them were written while the author was under twenty. They are printed correctly according to his own editions in 1645 and 1673; and as they can be read only by the learned, there is the less occasion for any notes and observations upon them. Some few are added, which were thought no more than necessary. — But it is time to have done with these things, and to apply to other works, more important and more useful, if the execution prove answerable to the intention.

December 31, 1751.



T H E



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THE

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J. Hayman inv.

C. Grignon sculp.



THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

VOL. I.

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# PARADISE REGAIN'D.

## B O O K I.

**I** Who ere while the happy garden sung,  
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing  
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,

By

Milton's *Paradise Regain'd* has not met with the approbation that it deserves. It has not the harmony of numbers, the sublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in *Paradise Lost*. It is composed in a lower and less striking stile, a stile suited to the subject. Artful sophistry, false reasoning, set off in the most specious manner, and refuted by the Son of God with strong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cause with great skill and subtlety, as one thoroughly versed in that craft;

*Qui facere assuerat  
Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.*

His character is well drawn. *Jortin*.

1. *I who ere while &c.*] Milton begins his *Paradise Regain'd* in the same manner as the *Paradise Lost*; first proposes his subject, and then invokes the assistance of the Holy Spirit. The beginning *I who ere*

*while &c* is plainly an allusion to the *Ille ego qui quondam &c* attributed to Virgil: but it doth not therefore follow, that Milton had no better taste than to conceive these lines to be genuin. Their being so well known to all the learned was reason sufficient for his imitation of them, as it was for Spenser's before him:

Lo, I the man, whose Muse  
whileom did mask,  
As time her taught, in lowly  
shepherd's weeds,  
Am now enforc'd a far unsitter  
task,  
For trumpets stern to change  
mine oaten reeds &c.

2. *By one man's disobedience*] The opposition of *one man's disobedience* in this verse to *one man's obedience* in ver. 4. is somewhat in the stile and manner of St. Paul. Rom. V. 19. *For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.*

3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may seem



By one man's firm obedience fully try'd  
 Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd 5  
 In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,  
 And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

Thou Spi'rit who ledst this glorious eremite  
 Into the desert, his victorious field,  
 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence

By

seem a little odd at first, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion &c; but the reason no doubt was, that *Paradise regain'd* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan might be a better contrast to *Paradise lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing Spirit. Besides he might very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject so extensive as well as sublime might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his *Paradise Lost* he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest *an age too late, or cold climate, or years should have damp'd his intended wing*; and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and be very cautious of launching out too far. *Thyer.*  
 It is hard to say whether Milton's wrong notions in divinity led him

to this defective plan; or his fondness for the plan influenced those notions. That is whether he indeed supposed the redemption of mankind (as he here represents it) was procured by Christ's triumph over the Devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert opposed to that of Paradise, and the action of a temptation withstood to a temptation fallen under, made *Paradise Regain'd* a more regular sequel to *Paradise Lost*. Or if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labor of composing *Paradise Lost* made him averse to another work of length (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan) is very uncertain. All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel, for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean time  
 nothing

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D.

5

By proof th' undoubted Son of God, inspire, 11  
 As thou art wont, my prompted song else mute,  
 And bear through highth or depth of nature's bounds  
 With prosp'rous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds  
 Above heroic, though in secret done, 15  
 And unrecorded left through many an age,  
 Worthy t' have not remain'd so long unsung.

Now

nothing was easier than to have invented a good one, which should end with the resurrection, and comprise these four books, somewhat contracted, in an episode, for which only the subject of them is fit.

Warburton.

7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*] There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam, — *Cursed is the ground for thy sake — Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth.* Thyer.

8. *Thou Spi'rit who ledst this glorious eremite*] The invocation is properly address'd to the Holy Spirit, not only as the inspirer of every good work, but as the leader of our Saviour upon this occasion into the wilderness. For it is said Mat. IV. 1. *Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the Devil.* And from the Greek original *ερημος* the desert, and *ερημικος* an inhabitant of the desert, is rightly formed the word

*eremite*, which was used before by Milton in his *Paradise Lost* III. 474.

Embrio's and idiots, *eremites* and friers :

and by Fairfax in his translation of Tasso, Cant. 11. St. 4.

Next morn the bishops twain,  
 the *eremite* :

and in Italian as well as in Latin there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *bermite*, *hermit*.

13. — *of nature's bounds*] To which he confines himself in this poem, not as in *Paradise Lost*, where he soars above and without the bounds of nature. VII. 21.

Richardson.

14. *With prosp'rous wing full summ'd.*] We had the like expression in *Paradise Lost* VII. 421.

They *summ'd* their pens —

and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers

Now had the great Proclamer, with a voice  
 More awful than the found of trumpet, cry'd  
 Repentance, and Heav'n's kingdom nigh at hand 20  
 To all baptiz'd: to his great baptism flock'd  
 With awe the regions round, and with them came  
 From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd  
 To the flood Jordan, came as then obscure,  
 Unmark'd, unknown; but him the Baptist soon 25  
 Descry'd, divinely warn'd, and witness bore

As

thers are grown, when he wants  
 nothing of the *sum* of his feathers,  
*cui nihil de summa pennarum deest*,  
 as Skinner says. There was there-  
 fore no occasion for reading as  
 some body propos'd,

With prosp'rous wing full *plum'd*.

14. — to tell of deeds  
*Above heroic,*] Alluding perhaps  
 in the turn of expression to the first  
 verse of Lucan,

*Bella per Emathios plusquam ci-  
 vilia campos,*

*Jusque datum sceleri canimus.*

*Thyer.*

19. — cry'd  
*Repentance, and Heav'n's kingdom  
 nigh at hand*

*To all baptiz'd:*] John preached  
 repentance and the approach of  
 Christ's kingdom. Ask—to whom?  
 and the answer is—to all baptiz'd.  
 Doth not this seem to imply, that  
 the great prophet baptized *before* he

preached? and that none could be  
 admitted to hear him without this  
 previous immersion? Whereas in  
 the nature of things as well as the  
 Gospel history, his preaching must  
 be, and was preparatory to his  
 baptism. One might read

— nigh at hand,

*Baptizing all —*

But this may be thought too distant  
 from the common lesson; and a  
 less change will effect the cure.  
 Read therefore

*And all baptiz'd:*

The prophet preached repentance  
 and the approach of Christ's king-  
 dom, and baptized *all*, that is mul-  
 titudes of people, who were dis-  
 posed by his preaching to prepare  
 their hearts for that great event.

*Calton.*

There is something plausible and  
 ingenious in this emendation: but  
 I conceive the construction to be  
 not



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As to his worthier, and would have resign'd  
To him his heav'nly office, nor was long  
His witness unconfirm'd : on him baptiz'd  
Heav'n open'd, and in likeness of a dove  
The Spi'rit descended, while the Father's voice  
From Heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son.  
That heard the Adversary, who roving still  
About the world, at that assembly fam'd  
Would not be last, and with the voice divine

30

35

Nigh

not that he cry'd to all baptiz'd re-  
pentance &c. but Heav'n's kingdom  
nigh at hand to all baptiz'd. Hea-  
ven's kingdom was nigh at hand to  
all such as were baptized with  
John's baptism; they were thereby  
disposed and prepared for the re-  
ception of the Gospel.

24. *To the flood Jordan, came as  
then obscure,*] In Mr. Fenton's and  
most other editions it is pointed  
thus,

To the flood Jordan came, as  
then obscure,

but we have followed the punctua-  
tion of Milton's own edition; for  
there is very little force in the re-  
petition, and *with them came, to the  
flood Jordan came*; but to say that  
he *came with them to the flood Jor-  
dan, and came as then obscure*, is  
very good sense, and worthy of the  
repetition.

25. — *but him the Baptist soon  
Descry'd, divinely warn'd,*] John

the Baptist had notice given him  
before, that he might certainly  
know the Messiah by the Holy  
Ghost descending and abiding upon  
him. *And I knew him not, but he  
that sent me to baptize with water,  
the same said unto me, Upon whom  
thou shalt see the Spirit descending  
and remaining on him, the same is he  
which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.*  
John I. 33. But it appears from  
St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew  
him and acknowledged him, before  
he was baptized and before the  
Holy Ghost descended upon him.  
Mat. III. 14. *I have need to be bap-  
tized of thee, and comest thou to me?*  
To account for which we must ad-  
mit with Milton, that another di-  
vine revelation was made to him  
at this very time, signifying that  
this was the person, of whom he  
had had such notice before.

26. — *divinely warn'd*] To  
comprehend the propriety of this  
word *divinely* the reader must have  
his



Nigh thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom  
 Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd  
 With wonder, then with envy fraught and rage  
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air  
 To council summons all his mighty peers, 40  
 Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,  
 A gloomy consistory; and them amidst  
 With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

O ancient Powers of air and this wide world,  
 For much more willingly I mention air, 45  
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,  
 Our hated habitation; well ye know

How

his eye upon the Latin *divinitus*,  
*from Heaven*, since the word *divinely*  
 in our language scarce ever  
 comes up to this meaning. Milton  
 uses it in much the same sense in  
*Paradise Lost*. VIII. 500.

She heard me thus, and though  
*divinely* brought. *Thyer.*

41. *Within thick clouds &c*] Milton  
 in making Satan's residence to  
 be *in mid air*, *within thick clouds*  
*and dark*, seems to have St. Austin  
 in his eye, who speaking of the re-  
 gion of clouds, storms, thunder &c  
 says — *ad ista caliginosa, id est,*  
*ad hunc aerem, tanquam ad car-*  
*cerem, damnatus est diabolus &c.*  
*Enarr. in Ps. 148. S. 9. Tom. 5.*  
*p. 1677. Edit. Bened. Thyer.*

42. *A gloomy consistory*;] This in  
 imitation of Virgil *Æn.* III. 677.

*Cernimus astantes nequicquam  
 lumine torvo  
 Ætneos fratres, cœlo capita alta  
 ferentes,  
 Concilium horrendum.*

By the word *consistory* I suppose  
 Milton intends to glance at the  
 meeting of the Pope and Cardinals  
 so nam'd, or perhaps at the epis-  
 copal tribunal, to all which sort of  
 courts or assemblies he was an  
 avow'd enemy. The phrase *con-*  
*cilium horrendum* Vida makes use  
 of upon a like occasion of assemb-  
 ling the infernal powers. *Christ.*  
*Lib. 1.*

Protinus

I. Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D.

9

How many ages, as the years of men,  
 This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd  
 In manner at our will th' affairs of earth, 50  
 Since Adam and his facil consort Eve  
 Lost Paradise deceiv'd by me, though since  
 With dread attending when that fatal wound  
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve  
 Upon my head: long the decrees of Heav'n 55  
 Delay, for longest time to him is short;  
 And now too soon for us the circling hours  
 This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we  
 Must bide the stroke of that long threaten'd wound,

At

Protinus acciri diros ad regia  
 fratres

Limina, concilium horrendum.

And Tasso also in the very same  
 manner. Cant. 4. St. 2.

Che sia comanda il popol suo  
 raccolto

(*Concilio horrendo*) entro la regia  
 foglia. *Thyer.*

44. O ancient Pow'rs of air and  
 this wide world,] So the  
 Devil is call'd in Scripture, *the*  
*prince of the power of the air*, Eph.  
 II. 2. and evil Spirits *the rulers of*  
*the darkness of this world*, Eph. VI.  
 12. Satan here summons a coun-  
 cil, and opens it as he did in the  
 Paradise Lost; but here is not that

copiousness and variety which is in  
 the other; here are not different  
 speeches and sentiments adapted  
 to the different characters; it is a  
 council without a debate; Satan is  
 the only speaker. And the author,  
 as if conscious of this defect, has  
 artfully endeavored to obviate the ob-  
 jection by saying, that their danger

— admits no long debate,  
 But must with something sudden  
 be oppos'd,

and afterwards

— no time was then  
 For long indulgence to their  
 fears or grief.

The true reason is, he found it  
 impossible to exceed or equal the  
 speeches

At least if so we can, and by the head 60  
 Broken be not intended all our power  
 To be infrin'g'd, our freedom and our being,  
 In this fair empire won of earth and air ;  
 For this ill news I bring, the woman's seed  
 Destin'd to this, is late of woman born : 65  
 His birth to our just fear gave no small cause,  
 But his growth now to youth's full flow'r, displaying  
 All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve  
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.  
 Before him a great prophet, to proclame 70  
 His coming, is sent harbinger, who all  
 Invites, and in the consecrated stream  
 Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so  
 Purified to receive him pure, or rather  
 To do him honour as their king ; all come, 75  
 And

speeches in his former council, and therefore has assign'd the best reason he could for not making any in this.

74. *Purified to receive him pure,*] Alluding to the Scripture expression 1 John III. 3. *And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure.*

83. *A perf<sup>d</sup> - dove descend,*] He had express'd it before ver. 30. in *likeness of a dove*, agreeably to

St. Matthew, *the Spirit of God descending like a dove*, III. 16. and to St. Mark, *the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*, I. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, III. 22. the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

91. *Who this is we must learn,*] Our author favors the opinion of those



And he himself among them was baptiz'd,  
 Not thence to be more pure, but to receive  
 The testimony' of Heav'n, that who he is  
 Thenceforth the nations may not doubt ; I saw  
 The prophet do him reverence, on him rising 80  
 Out of the water, Heav'n above the clouds  
 Unfold her crystal doors, thence on his head  
 A perfect dove descend, whate'er it meant,  
 And out of Heav'n the sovran voice I heard,  
 This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd. 85  
 His mother then is mortal, but his fire  
 He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven,  
 And what will he not do to' advance his Son ?  
 His first be-got we know, and fore have felt,  
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep ; 90  
 Who this is we must learn, for man he seems

In

those writers, Ignatius and others  
 among the Ancients, and Beza and  
 others among the Moderns, who  
 believed that the Devil, tho' he  
 might know Jesus to be some ex-  
 traordinary person, yet knew him  
 not to be the Messiah, the Son of  
 God : and the words of the Devil  
*If thou be the Son of God* seem to  
 exprefs his uncertainty concerning  
 that matter. The Devils indeed  
 afterwards know him and pro-

claimed him to be the Son of God,  
 but they might not know him to  
 be so at this time, before this  
 temptation, or before he had en-  
 ter'd upon his public ministry, and  
 manifested himself by his miracles.  
 And our author, who makes the  
 Devil to hear the voice from Hea-  
 ven *This is my beloved Son*, still  
 makes him doubt in what sense  
 Jesus was so called. See IV. 514.



In all his lineaments, though in his face  
 The glimpses of his father's glory shine.  
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge  
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95  
 But must with something sudden be oppos'd,  
 Not force, but well couch'd fraud, well woven snares,  
 Ere in the head of nations he appear  
 Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.  
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100  
 The dismal expedition to find out  
 And ruin Adam, and th' exploit perform'd  
 Successfully; a calmer voyage now  
 Will waft me; and the way found prosp'rous once  
 Induces best to hope of like success. 105

He

Thenceforth I thought thee worth  
 my nearer view,  
 And narrower scrutiny, that I  
 might learn  
 In what degree or meaning thou  
 art call'd  
 'The Son of God, which bears no  
 single sense; &c.

94. *Ye see our danger on the ut-  
 most edge  
 Of hazard,*] An expression bor-  
 rowed from Shakespear. All's well,  
 that ends well. Act III. Sc. 5.

—— Sir, it is  
 A charge too heavy for my  
 strength; but yet

We'll strive to bear it for your  
 worthy sake,  
 To th' extreme edge of hazard.

113. *To him their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation, as the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fall'n Angels. Tbyer.

119. *So to the coast of Jordan he directs  
 His easy steps, girded with snaky  
 wiles,*] For as Lightfoot ob-  
 serves Vol. II. p. 299. the wilder-  
 ness,

He ended, and his words impression left  
 Of much amazement to th' infernal crew,  
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay  
 At these sad tidings; but no time was then  
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief: 110  
 Unanimous they all commit the care  
 And management of this main enterprize  
 To him their great dictator, whose attempt  
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd  
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115  
 From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,  
 Regents and potentates, and kings, yea Gods  
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.  
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs

His

ness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was, St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized *ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ* *en to tu iopdavi*, returned from Jordan, namely from the same tract, whereby he came thither. *His easy steps*, for here was not that danger and difficulty as in his first expedition to ruin mankind. It is said in reference to what he had spoken before,

I, when no other durst, sole undertook  
 The dismal expedition to find out

And ruin Adam ———  
 — a calmer voyage now  
 Will waft me &c.

*Girded with snaky wiles*, alluding to the habit of forcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents; a cincture totally opposite to that recommended by the Apostle Eph. VI. 14. *having your loins girt about with truth*; and worn by our Saviour Isa. XI. 5. *And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.*

120 — girded

His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120  
 Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,  
 This man of men, attested Son of God,  
 Temptation and all guile on him to try;  
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd  
 To end his reign on earth so long enjoy'd: 125  
 But contrary unweeting he fulfill'd  
 The purpos'd counsel pre-ordain'd and fix'd  
 Of the most High, who in full frequency bright  
 Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130  
 Thou and all Angels conversant on earth  
 With man or mens affairs, how I begin

To

120 — *girded with snaky wiles,*] The imagery very fine, and the circumstance extremely proper. Satan is here figured engaging on a great expedition, succinct, and his habit girt about him with a girdle of snakes; which puts us in mind of the instrument of the fall.

Warburton.

122. *This man of men, attested Son of God,*] The phrase is low and idiotic; and I wish the poet had rather written

This man, of Heav'n attested  
 Son of God.

In the holy Scriptures *God of Gods*

and *Heaven of Heavens* are truly grand expressions: but then there is an idea of greatness in the words themselves to support the dignity of the phrase: which is wanting in Milton's *man of men*. Calton.

129. — *Thus to Gabriel smiling spake.*] This speech is properly address'd to Gabriel particularly among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his



To verify that solemn message late,  
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure  
 In Galilee, that she should bear a son 135  
 Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;  
 Then toldst her doubting how these things could be  
 To her a virgin, that on her should come  
 The Holy Ghost, and the pow'r of the Highest  
 O'er-shadow her: this man born and now up-grown,  
 To show him worthy of his birth divine 141  
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose  
 To Satan; let him tempt and now assay  
 His utmost subtlety, because he boasts  
 And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145  
 Of

his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his virgin mother. And the Jewish Rabbi's say, that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy: and accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian Angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise: and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. And God's being represented as *smiling* may be justified not only by the Heathen poets, as Virg. *Æn.* I. 254.

Olli *subridens* hominum fator  
 atque deorum:

but by the authority of Scripture itself. See *Paradise Lost*, V. 718.

131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth  
 With man or mens affairs,*] This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus.

Ἄγγελοι, ὅσι μεμνηθε βροτοῖς ὡς  
 πάντα τελεῖται.

144. — *because he boasts  
 and vaunts &c.*] This alludes to what Satan had just before said to his companions, ver. 100.

I, when no other durst, sole undertook &c. *Thyer.*

163. *That*



Of his apostasy ; he might have learnt  
 Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,  
 Whose constant perseverance overcame  
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.  
 He now shall know I can produce a man 150  
 Of female seed, far abler to resist  
 All his solicitations, and at length  
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell,  
 Winning by conquest what the first man lost  
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155  
 To exercise him in the wilderness,  
 There

163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers, &c]* Not a word is said here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation; and the Angels are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*

— inshrin'd

In fleshly tabernacle, and human form.

That Christ was *perfect man* is a partial truth, and serves to keep the higher perfection of his divine na-

ture, for the present, out of sight, without denying or excluding it. It is likewise very truly said of this *perfect man*, that he is by *merit* call'd the *Son of God*. Justin Martyr observes in his second Apology [p. 67. Ed. Col.] that Christ, considered only as man, deserved for his superior wisdom to be called the Son of God. Ὅτι δὲ Θεὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγομένης, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον αἰθερώπῃ, δια σοφίαν ἀξιοῦν Θεὸν λεγέσθαι. In either capacity of *God* or *Man* he had a clame of *merit* to the title. The Father, speaking to his eternal Word in Paradise Lost, III. 308. on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith

— and hast been found  
 By merit more than birthright  
 Son of God.

Again,

There he shall first lay down the rudiments  
 Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth  
 To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,  
 By humiliation and strong sufferance : 160  
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,  
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh ;  
 That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,  
 They now, and men hereafter may discern,  
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165  
 This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,  
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.

So

Again, the words *consummate virtue* are ambiguous, and may be referred to the *divine* nature of Christ as well as the *human*. Their present connexion applies them directly to the *human* nature : but they had a secret reference, I conceive, in the poet's meaning to the majesty of that heavenly part of him, which denominates Christ in the holy Scriptures the wisdom of God and the power (or *virtue*) of God, *Θεοῦ δυνάμις*, *Dei virtutem*, Lat. Vulg. 1 Cor. I. 24. Hunc tamen solum primogenitum divini nominis appellatione dignatus est, patria scilicet *virtute*, ac majestate pollentem. Esse autem summi Dei filium, qui sit potestate maxima præditus, non tantum voces prophetarum, sed etiam Sibyllarum vaticinia de-

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monstrant. Lactantius. Div. Inst. Lib. IV. 6. Cum igitur a prophetis idem manus Dei, & *virtus*, & sermo dicatur. ibid. 29. Paradise Lost. VI. 713.

— Into thee such *virtue* and  
 grace

Immense I have transfus'd.

Christ show'd his heavenly wisdom upon every trial : but his *divine virtue* broke out, to the amazement of the tempter, in the last. Note that the præposition *from*,

*From* what consummate virtue—  
 is used here as *pro* and *propter*, to signify *for* or *because of*.

Calton.

C

168. So

So spake th' eternal Father, and all Heaven  
 Admiring stood a space, then into hymns  
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd, 170  
 Circling the throne and finging, while the hand  
 Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

Victory' and triumph to the Son of God  
 Now entring his great duel, not of arms,

But

168. *So spake th' eternal father,  
 and all Heaven*

*Admiring stood a space,]* We cannot but take notice of the great art of the poet in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summon'd; an assembly of Angels is held upon the occasion. Satan is the speaker in the one, the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surpriz'd with deep dismay; all Heaven stands a while in admiration. The fiends are silent thro' fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into finging with joy and the assured hopes of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.

171.

— while the hand

*Sung with the voice,]* We have pretty near the same phrase in Tibullus. III. IV. 41.

*Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum  
 voce locuti,  
 Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba  
 modo.*

And the word *hand* is used by Milton once again in this poem, and also in the Arcades, to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal. IV. 254.

There thou shalt hear and learn  
 the secret power  
 Of harmony in tones and numbers hit  
*By voice or hand.*

Arcades, 77.

If my inferior *hand or voice* could  
 hit  
 Inimitable sounds.

I have sometimes indulg'd a suspicion, that the poet dictated,  
 — while



But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles.

175

The Father knows the Son; therefore secure

Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd,

Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,

Allure, or terrify, or undermine.

Be frustrate all ye stratagems of Hell,

180

And devilish machinations come to nought.

So

— while the harp  
Sung with the voice; —

but the few authorities alledged put  
the present reading out of question.

Calton.

174. *Now entering his great duel,*] There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of this term that makes it unworthy of these speakers and this occasion; and yet it is observable, that Milton in his *Paradise Lost* makes Michael use the very same word where he is speaking to Adam of the same thing. XII. 386.

To whom thus Michael. Dream  
not of their fight,  
As of a *duel*, &c.

The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this, I suppose, Milton had in view.

Thyer.

If it be not a contradiction, it is inaccurate at least in Milton, to make an Angel say in one place, *Dream not of their fight as of a duel*; and afterwards to make the Angels

express it by the metaphor of a *duel*, *Now entering his great duel*.

175. *But to vanquish by wisdom*] He lays the accent on the last syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere in *triumph*; and in many places, in my opinion, he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants.

Jortin.

176. *The Father knows the Son; therefore secure Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd,*] Could this have been said by the Angels, if they also had known this Son to be the eternal Word, who created all things; and who had before driven this Tempter, and all his Powers out of Heaven? The incarnation was generally believed by the Fathers to have been a secret to Angels, till they learned it from the Church. See Huetii Origeniana. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. Quæst. 5. 18. As to the time and means of their information, Milton seems to be particular.

Calton.



So they in Heav'n their odes and vigils tun'd :  
 Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days  
 Lodg'd in Bethabara where John baptiz'd,  
 Musing and much revolving in his breast, 185  
 How best the mighty work he might begin  
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first  
 Publish his God-like office now mature,  
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading,  
 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190  
 With solitude, till far from track of men,

Thought

182. *So they in Heav'n their odes  
 and vigils tun'd :*

*Mean while the Son of God—*]  
 How nearly does the poet here ad-  
 here to the same way of speaking  
 he had used in *Paradise Lost* on  
 the same occasion. III. 416.

Thus they in Heav'n above the  
 starry sphere  
 Their happy hours in joy and  
 hymning spent.  
 Mean while &c. *Thyer.*

182.—*their odes and vigils tun'd :*]  
 This is a very uncommon expres-  
 sion, and not easy to be understood,  
 unless we suppose that by *vigils* the  
 poet meant those songs which they  
 sung while they kept their watches.  
 Singing of hymns is their manner  
 of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven.  
 And I see no reason why their  
 evening service may not be called  
*vigils*, as the morning service is

called *mattins*. Mr. Symphon pro-  
 poses a slight alteration,

—their odes *in* vigils tun'd,

that is, each watch when reliev'd  
 sung so and so: but as we have  
 explain'd the word, there seems to  
 be no occasion for any alteration.

183. —*who yet some days  
 Lodg'd in Bethabara where John  
 baptiz'd,*] The poet, I presume,  
 said this upon the authority of the  
 first chapter of St. John's Gospel,  
 where several particulars, which  
 happened several days together, are  
 related concerning the Son of God,  
 and it is said ver. 28. *These things  
 were done in Bethabara beyond Jor-  
 dan, where John was baptizing.*

189. *One day forth walk'd alone,  
 the Spirit leading,  
 And his deep thoughts,*] This is  
 wrong pointed in all the editions  
 thus,

One

Thought following thought, and step by step led on,  
He enter'd now the bord'ring desert wild,  
And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,  
His holy meditations thus pursu'd. 195

O what a multitude of thoughts at once  
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider  
What from within I feel myself, and hear  
What from without comes often to my ears,  
Ill sorting with my present state compar'd! 200  
When I was yet a child, no childish play

To

One day forth walk'd alone, the  
Spirit leading;  
And his deep thoughts, &c.

his favorite romances, where the  
musing knights are often describ'd  
losing themselves in forests in this  
manner. *Thyer.*

But at most there should be only a  
comma after *leading*, for the con-  
struction is, *his deep thoughts lead-  
ing* as well as the Spirit. And as  
Mr. Thyer observes, what a fine  
light does Milton here place that  
text of Scripture in, where it is said,  
that *Jesus was led up of the Spirit  
into the wilderness*, and how excel-  
lently adapted to embellish his  
poem! He adheres strictly to the  
inspir'd historian, and yet without  
any sort of profanation gives it a  
turn which is vastly poetical.

195.—*meditations*] This is the  
reading in Milton's own edition;  
in all the rest that I have seen it is  
*meditation*.

201. *When I was yet a child, no  
childish play*

*To me was pleasing*;] How finely  
and consistently does Milton here  
imagin the youthful meditations of  
our Saviour? how different from  
and superior to that superstitious  
trumpery which one meets with in  
the *Evangelium Infantiae*, and other  
such apocryphal trash? Vid. Fa-  
bricii Cod. Apoc. N. Test. *Thyer*.  
He seems to allude to Callimachus,  
who says elegantly of young Jupi-  
ter, Hymn. in Jov. 56.

191.—*till far from track of men,  
Thought following thought, &c*] I  
hope it won't be thought too light  
to observe, that our author might  
probably in these lines have in view

To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set  
 Serious to learn and know, and thence to do  
 What might be public good ; myself I thought  
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205  
 All righteous things : therefore above my years,  
 The law of God I read, and found it sweet,  
 Made it my whole delight, and in it grew  
 To such perfection, that ere yet my age  
 Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast 210  
 I went into the temple, there to hear  
 The teachers of our law, and to propose

What

ὄξυ δ' αἰσθησας, ταχίνοι δὲ τοι  
 ἦλθον ἔωλοι.

Ἀλλ' ἐτι παῖδ' ὄντων ἔφρασσαο  
 πάντα τέλεια.

Swift was thy growth, and early  
 was thy bloom,  
 But earlier wisdom crown'd thy  
 infant days. *Fortin.*

Henry Stephens's translation of  
 the latter verse is very much to our  
 purpose,

Verum ætate, puer, digna es  
 meditatus adulta :

or rather his more paraphrastical  
 translation,

Verum ætate puer, puerili haud  
 more solebas

Ludere ; sed jam tum tibi seria  
 cuncta placebant,

Digna ætate animus jam tum  
 volvebat adulta.

And Pindar in like manner praises  
 Demophilus. Pyth. Od. IV. 501.  
 κείν' ὅ γὰρ ἐν παισὶ μέγ', ἐν δὲ βελταῖς  
 πρεσβύς. Our author might allude  
 to these passages, but he certainly  
 alluded to the words of the Apostle  
 1 Cor. XIII. 11. only inverting  
 the thought. *When I was a child,  
 I spake as a child &c.*

204. — myself I thought  
 Born to that end, born to promote  
 all truth.] Alluding to our  
 Saviour's words John XVIII. 37.  
 To this end was I born, and for this  
 cause came I into the world, that I  
 should bear witness unto the truth.

210. — at our great feast] The  
 feast of the passover, Luke II. 41.

214. And



What might improve my knowledge or their own ;  
 And was admir'd by all : yet this not all  
 To which my spi'rit aspir'd ; victorious deeds 215  
 Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while  
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,  
 Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth  
 Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,  
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd : 220  
 Yet held it more humane, more heav'nly first  
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,  
 And make persuation do the work of fear ;

At

214. *And was admir'd by all :*  
 For all that heard him were astonish-  
 ed at his understanding and answers.  
 Luke II. 47.

219. *Brute violence*] So again in  
 the Mask

And noble grace that dash'd *brute*  
*violence.* Thyer.

221. *Yet held it more humane,*  
*more heav'nly first &c.*] Here  
 breathes the true spirit of tolera-  
 tion in these lines, and the senti-  
 ment is very fitly put into the  
 mouth of him, who *came not to*  
*destroy mens lives but to save them.*  
 The alliteration of w's in this  
 line, and the assonance of *winning*  
 and *willing* have a very beautiful  
 effect ;

By winning words to conquer  
 willing hearts.

— victorque volentes  
 Per populos dat jura, viamque  
 affectat Olympo.

Our author was always a declar'd  
 enemy to persecution, and a friend  
 to liberty of conscience. He rises  
 above himself, whenever he speaks  
 of the subject ; and he must have  
 felt it very strongly, to have ex-  
 press'd it so happily. For as Mr.  
 Thyer justly remarks upon this  
 passage, there is a peculiar softness  
 and harmony in these lines, exact-  
 ly suited to that gentle spirit of  
 love that breathes in them ; and  
 that man must have an inquisito-  
 rial spirit indeed who does not feel  
 the force of them.

222.—*to conquer willing hearts,*]  
 Virgil Georg. IV. 561.

C 4

— victorque

At least to try, and teach the erring soul  
 Not wilfully mis-doing, but unaware 225  
 Missed; the stubborn only to subdue.  
 These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving  
 By words at times cast forth inly rejoic'd,  
 And said to me apart, High are thy thoughts  
 O Son, but nourish them and let them soar 230  
 To what highth sacred virtue and true worth  
 Can raise them, though above example high;  
 By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.  
 For know, thou art no son of mortal man;  
 Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235  
 Thy father is th' eternal King who rules  
 All Heav'n and Earth, Angels and Sons of men;  
 A messenger from God foretold thy birth  
 Conceived in me a virgin, he foretold

Thou

— victorque volentes

Per populos dat jura —

which expression of Virgil's, by the way, seems to be taken from Xenophon, Oeconomic. XXI. 12.

Ου γαρ πανυ μοι δοκει ολον τετι το αγαθον ανθρωπινον ειναι, αλλα θειον, το θελουσαν αρχειν. I could add other passages of Xenophon, which Virgil has manifestly copied.

Fortin.

226.—*the stubborn only to subdue.*]

We cannot sufficiently condemn the

negligence of the former editors and printers, who have not so much as corrected the Errata pointed out to them by Milton himself, but have carefully followed all the blunders of the first edition, and increased the number with new ones of their own. This passage affords an instance. In all the editions we read.

— the stubborn only to *destroy*;  
 and this being good sense, the  
 mistake

Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,  
 And of thy kingdom there should be no end. 241  
 At thy nativity a glorious quire  
 Of Angels in the fields of Bethlehem sung  
 To shepherds watching at their folds by night,  
 And told them the Messiah now was born 245  
 Where they might see him, and to thee they came,  
 Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,  
 For in the inn was left no better room :  
 A star, not seen before, in Heav'n appearing  
 Guided the wise men thither from the east, 250  
 To honor thee with incense, myrrh, and gold,  
 By whose bright course led on they found the place,  
 Affirming it thy star new grav'n in Heaven,  
 By which they knew the king of Israel born.  
 Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warn'd 255  
 By

mistake is not so easily detected: but in the first edition the reader is desired in the table of Errata for *destroy* to read *subdue*; and if we consider it, this is the more proper word, more suitable to the humane and heavenly character of the speaker; and besides it answers to the *subdue and quell* in ver. 218. *The son of man came not to destroy mens lives &c.* Luke IX. 56.

227. — *my mother soon perceiving*  
 — *inly rejoic'd,*

Virgil. *Æn.* I. 502.

*Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.* *Jortin.*

241. — *there should be no end.*] We have restored the reading of Milton's own edition, *should* not *shall*, as before

Thou *shouldst* be great —

255. *Just Simeon and prophetic Anna,*] It may not be improper to remark how strictly our author



By vision, found thee in the temple', and spake  
 Before the altar and the vested priest,  
 Like things of thee to all that present stood.  
 This having heard, strait I again resolv'd  
 The law and prophets, searching what was writ 260  
 Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes  
 Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake  
 I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie  
 Through many a hard assay ev'n to the death,  
 Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265  
 Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins  
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.

Yet

thor adheres to the Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates, but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as here *Just Simeon*, because it is said Luke II. 25. *and the same man was just*: and *prophetic Anna*, because it is said Luke II. 36. *and there was one Anna a prophetess*. The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest.

262. — *and soon found of whom they spake*

*I am*;] The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and *unknown even to himself*, till Elias had anointed and declared

him. Χριστὸς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ γεγενηται, καὶ ἐστὶ πᾶς, ἀγιωστὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πᾶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιγινώσκει, οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμιν τίνα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἠλίας χρίσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιῆσθαι. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 226. Ed. Col. Calton.

266.

— *whose sins*

*Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.*] Isaiah LIII. 6.

*The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*

271. *Not known by sight*] Tho' Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner

Yet neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,  
 The time prefix'd I waited, when behold  
 The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270  
 Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come  
 Before Messiah and his way prepare.

I as all others to his baptism came,  
 Which I believ'd was from above ; but he  
 Strait knew me, and with loudest voice proclam'd  
 Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven) 276  
 Me him whose harbinger he was ; and first  
 Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,  
 As much his greater, and was hardly won :  
 But as I rose out of the laving stream, 280

Heav'n

manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly John I. 31, 33. *And I knew him not* ; and he did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism ; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together. And it was wisely ordered so by Providence, that the testimony of John might have the greater weight, and be freer from all suspicion of any compact or collusion between them.

278. *Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,*

*As much his greater,*] Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the

same manner as he had done before, Parad. Lost, V. 172.

*Thou Sun, of this great world  
 both eye and soul,  
 Acknowledge him thy greater.*

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. *Töyer.*

280. — *out of the laving stream,*] Alluding, I fancy, to the phrase *laver of regeneration* so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present

sent

Heav'n open'd her eternal doors, from whence  
 The Spi<sup>r</sup>t descended on me like a dove,  
 And last the sum of all, my Father's voice,  
 Audibly heard from Heav'n, pronounc'd me his,  
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285  
 He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time  
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,  
 But openly begin, as best becomes

Th' authority

sent condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduc'd by the poet to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is open'd. *Thyer.*

281. — *eternal doors*] So in Psal. XXIV. 7, 9. *everlasting doors.*

286. — *the time*  
*Now full,*] Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time.* When the fulness of time was come &c Gal. IV. 4.

293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] Jesus was led by an inward impulse to retire into the desert. and he obey'd the motion, without knowing the purpose of it, for that was not reveal'd to him by God. The whole soliloquy is form'd upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, viz. *that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, pos-*

*sess'd of all the knowledge of the ΛΟΓΟΣ, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's *Elucidatio Status Controversiarum* &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he — *increas'd in wisdom, and in stature.* St. Luke II. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that — *ipsa Θεότης plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumptæ insinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutychiani.* Gerhard, a Lutheran professor of divinity, has the same meaning, or none at all, in what I am going to transcribe. — *Anima Christi, juxta naturalem, & habituaalem scientiam vere profecit, λόγω omniscio ἐνέργειαν suam, quæ est actu omnia scire & cognoscere, per assumptam humanitatem non semper exerente.* [Joh. Gerhardi *Loci Theol.* Tom. 1. Loc. 4. Cap. 12.] Grotius employs the same principle, to explain St. Mark XIII. 32. — *Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie*



Th' authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.

And now by some strong motion I am led 290

Into this wilderness, to what intent

I learn not yet, perhaps I need not know ;

For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

So spake our Morning Star then in his rise,

And looking round on every side beheld 295

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;

The

impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *divinam Sapientiam*, menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse *pro temporum ratione*. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, *προσκοπὴ σοφία*, Luc. II. 52? And our Tillotson approv'd the opinion. — “ It is “ not unreasonable to suppose, that “ the *Divine Wisdom*, which dwelt “ in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his *human soul* according to his pleasure, and so “ his *human Nature* might at some “ times not know some things. “ And if this be not admitted, “ how can we understand that “ passage concerning our Saviour, “ Luke II. 52. that *Jesus grew in wisdom and stature*? [Sermons Vol. IX. P. 273.] Grotius could find scarce any thing in antiquity to support his explication: but there is something in Theodoret very much to his purpose, which I owe to Whitby's *Stricturæ Patrum*. P. 190. — τῆς [δύναμιος

φύσεως, ut videtur,] τοιαῦτα κατ' ἐκείνο τε καιρὸν γινώσκουσα, ὅσα ἡ ἐνοικησασα θεότης ἀπεκαλύψει. — Non est Dei Verbi ignorantia, sed *Fortiæ* servi, quæ tanta per illud tempus sciebat, quanta Deitas inhabitans revelabat. Repreh. Anath. quarti Cyrilli, Tom 4. P. 713. If some things might be suppos'd unknown to Christ, without prejudice to the *union*, being not reveal'd to him by the *united Word*, it will follow that, till some certain time, even the *union* itself might be unknown to him. This time seems to have been, in Milton's scheme, after the soliloquy; but before the forty days of fasting were ended, and the Demon enter'd upon the scene of action: and then was a fit occasion to give him a feeling of his own strength, when he was just upon the point of being attack'd by such an adversary. *Calton*.

294. So spake our Morning Star] So our Saviour is called in the Revelation XXII. 16. *the bright and morning*

The way he came not having mark'd, return  
 Was difficult, by human steps untrod;  
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts  
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300  
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend  
 Such solitude before choicest society.  
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill  
 Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night  
 Under the covert of some ancient oak, 305  
 Or cedar, to defend him from the dew,  
 Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;  
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt  
 Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last

Among

*morning star*: and it is properly applied to him here at his first rising.

302. *Such solitude before choicest society.*] This verse is of the same measure as one in the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 249. and is to be scann'd in the same manner.

For soli|tude some|times is | best  
 soli|ciety.

Such soli|tude be|fore choi|cest  
 soli|ciety.

Or we must allow that an Alexandrine verse (as it is called) may be admitted into blank verse as well as into rime.

307. — *one cave*] Read — *some cave.* *Jortin.*

310. — *they at his sight grew mild,*] All this is very common in description, but here very judiciously employ'd as a mark of the returning Paradisiacal state.

*Warburton.*

312. — *and noxious worm*] This beautiful description is formed upon the short hint in St. Mark's Gospel I. 13. *and was with the wild beasts.* A circumstance not mention'd by the other Evangelists, but excellently improv'd by Milton to show how the ancient prophecies began to be fulfill'd, Isa XI. 6—9. LXV. 25. Ezek. XXXIV. 25; and how Eden was rais'd in the waste

Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild, 310  
 Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd, his walk  
 The fiery serpent fled, and noxious worm,  
 The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.

But now an aged man in rural weeds, 314  
 Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,  
 Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve  
 Against a winter's day when winds blow keen,  
 To warn him wet return'd from field at eve,  
 He saw approach, who first with curious eye  
 Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake. 320

Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place  
 So far from path or road of men, who pass

In

*waste wilderness.* But the word *worm*, tho' joined with the epithet *noxious*, may give too low an idea to some readers: but as we observed upon the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1068, where Satan is called *false worm*, it is a general name for the reptil kind, and a serpent is called *the mortal worm* by Shakespear. 2 Henry VI. Act III. and so likewise by Cowley in his *Davideis*. Book I.

— With that she takes  
 One of her worst, her best be-  
 loved snakes,  
 Softly dear *worm*, soft and unseen  
 (said she).

314. *But now an aged man &c]*  
 As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assum'd, the poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon's, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engrav'd by Landerfelt. *Thyer.*



In troop or caravan? for single none  
 Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here  
 His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth. 325  
 I ask the rather, and the more admire,  
 For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late  
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford  
 Of Jordan honor'd so, and call'd thee Son  
 Of God; I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330  
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth  
 To town or village nigh (nighest is far)  
 Where ought we hear, and curious are to hear,  
 What happens new; fame also finds us out.

Towhom the Son of God. Who brought me hither,  
 Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek. 336  
 By

323. *In troop or caravan?*] A caravan, as Tavernier says, is a great convoy of merchants, which meet at certain times and places, to put themselves into a condition of defense from thieves, who ride in troops in several desert places upon the road. A caravan is like an army, consisting ordinarily of five or six hundred camels, and near as many horses, and sometimes more. This makes it the safest way of traveling in Turkey and Persia with the caravan, though it goes indeed slower, than in less company, or with a guide alone, as some will do. See Travels into

Persia in Harris Vol. II. B. 2. ch. 2.

339.—*tough roots and stubs*] This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be read *shrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the *axpides*, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. *Thyer*. I find the word *stubs* used in Spenser. Faery Queen B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 34.

And

By miracle he may, reply'd the swain,  
 What other way I see not, for we here  
 Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd  
 More than the Camel, and to drink go far, 340  
 Men to much misery and hardship born;  
 But if thou be the Son of God, command  
 That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,  
 So shalt thou save thyself and us relieve  
 With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345

He ended, and the Son of God reply'd.  
 Think'st thou such force in bread? is it not written  
 (For I discern thee other than thou seem'st)  
 Man lives not by bread only, but each word  
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350  
 Our

And all about old flocks and *stubs*  
 of trees:

but this only proves the use of the  
 word, and not of the thing as food,  
 which seems impossible, and there-  
 fore I embrace the former inge-  
 nious conjecture.

340. *More than the camel,*] It is  
 commonly said that camels will go  
 without water three or four days.  
 Sitim & quatrduo tolerant. Plin.  
 Nat. Hist. Lib. 8. Sect. 26. But  
 Tavernier says, that they will ordi-  
 narily live without drink eight or  
 nine days. See Harris *ibid.* And  
 therefore, as Dr. Shaw justly ob-

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serves in his physical observations  
 on Arabia Petraea p. 389 we can-  
 not sufficiently admire the great care  
 and wisdom of God in providing  
 the camel for the traffic and com-  
 merce of these and such like deso-  
 late countries. For if this service-  
 able creature was not able to sub-  
 sist several days without water, or  
 if it required a quantity of nou-  
 rishment in proportion to its bulk,  
 the travelling in these parts would  
 be either cumbersome and expen-  
 sive, or altogether impracticable.

350. *Proceeding from the mouth of*  
*God, who fed*

*Our fathers here with Manna?]*

D

The

Our fathers here with Manna ? in the mount  
 Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank ;  
 And forty days Elijah without food  
 Wander'd this barren waste ; the same I now :  
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355  
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art ?  
 Whom thus answer'd th'Arch-Fiend now undi-  
 'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate, [guis'd.  
 Who leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt  
 Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360  
 With

The seventh and perhaps some other editions have pointed it thus,

Proceeding from the mouth of  
 God ? who fed  
 Our fathers here with Manna ;

In the first and second editions there is a semicolon in both places, which is still worse. A comma would be sufficient after *God*, and the mark of interrogation should close the period after *Manna*.

Calton.

356. *Knowing who I am,*] This is not to be understood of Christ's divine nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person declar'd the Son of God by a voice from Heaven, ver. 385. and that was all that he knew of him. Calton.

358. *'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate, &c*] Satan's frankness in confessing who he was,

when he found himself discovered, is remarkable. Hitherto he has been called *an aged man*, and *the swain*; and we have no intimation from the poet, that Satan was concealed under this appearance, which adds to our pleasure by an agreeable surprise upon the discovery. In the first book of the *Æneid*, *Æneas* being driven by a storm upon an unknown coast, and going in company with *Achates* to take a survey of the country, is met in a thick wood by a lady, in the habit of a huntress. She inquires of them if they had seen two sisters of hers in a like dress, employed in the chase. *Æneas* addresses her as *Diana*, or one of her nymphs, and begs she would tell him the name and state of the country the tempest had thrown him upon. She declines his compliment, informs him she was no Goddess, but only a Tyrian



With them from blifs to the bottomlefs deep,  
 Yet to that hideous place not fo confin'd  
 By rigor unconniving, but that oft  
 Leaving my dolorous prifon I enjoy  
 Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365  
 Or range in th'air, nor far from the Heav'n of Heav'ns  
 Hath he excluded my refort fometimes.  
 I came among the fons of God, when he  
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job  
 To prove him, and illuftrate his high worth ; 370  
 And

Tyrian maid, gives an account of the place, and a full relation of Dido's hiftory and fettlement there. In return, Æneas acquaints her with his ftory, and particularly the lofs of great part of his fleet in the late ftorm. Upon which he affures him, from an omen which appeared to them, that his fhips were fafe, bids him expect a kind reception from the queen ; and then turning to go away, Æneas discovers her to be his mother, the Goddefs of love. If Virgil had not informed us of her being Venus, till this time, and in this manner, it would have had an agreeable effect in fuprizing the reader, as much as he did Æneas : but his conduct has been quite the reverse, for in the beginning of the ftory, he lets the reader into the fecret, and takes care every now and then to remind him.

*Cui mater media feſe tulit obvia  
 fylva, &c.*

See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 60.

360. *Kept not my happy ſtation,*  
 A manner of ſpeaking borrowed from the Scripture. Jude 6. *And the Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate.*

365.—*to round this globe of earth,*  
 Milton uſes the ſame phraſe in his *Paradiſe Loſt* X. 684. ſpeaking of the ſun :

*Had rounded ſtill th' horizon—  
 Thyer.*

368. *I came among the ſons of God, &c.* Job I. 6. *Now there was a day when the ſons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them.* See too II. 1.

D 2

372. To

And when to all his Angels he propos'd  
 To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud  
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,  
 I undertook that office, and the tongues  
 Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies 375  
 To his destruction, as I had in charge,  
 For what he bids I do : though I have lost  
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost  
 To be beloved of God, I have not lost  
 To love, at least contemplate and admire 380  
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,  
 Or virtuous, I should so have lost all sense.

What

372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] That is, into mischief, as *fraus* sometimes means in Latin.

*Jortin.*

The reader may see an instance of *fraud* and *fraus* used in this sense in the *Paradise Lost*, IX. 643, and the note there. And this story of Ahab is related 1 Kings XXII. 19 &c. *I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And*

*the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also : go forth, and do so. And this symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand literally, tho' as a poet he represents it so.*

385. — *To bear attent*

*Thy wisdom,*] Milton seems to have borrowed this word and this emphatical manner of applying it from Spenser, *Faery Queen* B. 6. Cant. 9. St. 26.

Whilst

What can be then less in me than desire  
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know  
 Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385  
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy Godlike deeds?  
 Men generally think me much a foe  
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me  
 Never did wrong or violence; by them  
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390  
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell  
 Copartner in these regions of the world,  
 If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,  
 Oft my advice by presages and signs,

And

Whilst thus he talk'd, the knight  
 with greedy ear  
 Hung still upon his melting  
 mouth attent. Thyer.

394. *Oft my advice by presages  
 and signs, -*

*And answers, oracles, portents and  
 dreams,]* 1. *Portents* are but  
 odly thrown in here betwixt *oracles*  
 and *dreams*; besides that the mean-  
 ing of the word had been fully ex-  
 press'd before by *presages* and *signs*.  
 These comprehend all the imagin'd  
 notes of futurity in *auguries* in *sa-*  
*crifices*, in *lightnings*, and in all the  
 varieties of *portents*, *ostents*, *prodi-*  
*gies*. That *portent* at Aulis, which  
 showed the Greeks the success and

duration of the war they were go-  
 ing upon, is called by Homer  
 μέγα σημεῖον a great sign, Iliad. II.  
 308. What were the Lacedæmo-  
 nians profited before, (saith Cicero  
 De Div. II. 25.) or our own coun-  
 trymen lately by the *ostents* and  
 their interpreters? which, if we  
 must believe them to be *signs* sent  
 by the Gods, why were they so ob-  
 scure? Quid igitur aut *ostenta*, aut  
 eorum interpretes, vel Lacedæmo-  
 nios olim, vel nuper nostros adju-  
 verunt? quæ si *signa* Deorum pu-  
 tanda sunt, cur tam obscura fue-  
 runt? This passage of Cicero will  
 lead us to the sense of the next  
 word, which very naturally fol-  
 lows *presages* and *signs*, and is con-  
 nected



And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395  
 Whereby they may direct their future life,  
 Envy they say excites me thus to gain  
 Companions of my misery and woe.  
 At first it may be ; but long since with woe

Nearer

ned with them. In Cicero we have *signs* and their *interpreters*, and here *signs* and their *interpretations* ; for this I take to be the meaning of *answers*. The *haruspicum responsa* amongst the Romans are obvious authorities. 2. There are three species of divination, distinguished from the former by *signs*, in Cicero's first book on that subject, viz. *dreams*, *vaticinations* or *prophecies*, and *oracles*. Carent autem arte ii, qui non ratione, aut conjectura, observatis ac notatis *signis*, sed concitatione quadam animi, aut soluto liberoque motu futura præsentiant ; quod & *somniantibus* sæpe contingit, & nonnunquam *vaticinantibus* per furorem &c. Cujus generis oracula etiam habenda sunt. De Div. I. 18. These three frequently occur together ; as again in this first book. 51. Item igitur *somniis*, *vaticinationibus*, *oraculis*, &c. And again in de Nat. Deor. II. 65. Multa cernunt haruspices : multa augures provident : multa *oraculis* declarantur, multa *vaticinationibus*, multa *somniis*, (and I will fairly add, tho' it may be thought to make against me) multa *portentis*. Here *portents* are join'd with *oracula*, *vaticinationes*, and

*somnia* ; and why might not Milton join them with *oracles* and *dreams* ? In answer to this I observe, that the word *portents* in our poet is not only irregularly inserted, but excludes another species of divination out of a place, where the authority of Cicero himself, and in this very passage too, would make one expect to find it ; which cannot be said of *portentis*. And now perhaps a conjecture may appear not void of probability, that the poet dictated,

And answers, oracles, *prophets*,  
 and dreams. Calton.

I have given this learned note at length, though I can by no means agree to the propos'd alteration. My greatest objection to it is, that I conceive Milton would not have inserted *prophets* between *oracles* and *dreams*, any more than Cicero would have inserted *vates* between *oracula* and *somnia*. Cicero has said *oracula*, *vaticinationes*, *somnia* ; and Milton in like manner would have said by *presages* and *signs*, and *answers*, *oracles*, *prophecies*, not *prophets*, and *dreams*. But I suppose the poet was not willing to ascribe *prophecy* to the Devil ; he might think, and very justly

Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof, 400  
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,  
 Nor lightens ought each man's peculiar load.  
 Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :  
 This wounds me most (what can it less ? ) that man,  
 Man

justly think, that it lay not within his sphere and capacity : and by *portents* she plainly understands something more than *presages* and *signs*, as *portenta* are rank'd with *monstra* and *prodigia* in the best Latin authors. The gentleman seems apprehensive that his last quotation from Cicero may be turned against him : and indeed that passage and this reflect so much light on each other, as would incline one to believe that Milton had it in mind as he was composing. *Multa cernunt haruspices : multa augures provident : these are the presages and signs and answers : multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa somniis, multa portentis : here portents are annumerated with oracles and dreams : quibus cognitis, multæ sæpe res hominum sententia atque utilitate partæ* (or as Lambin reads, *ex animi sententia atque utilitate partæ*) *multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt* : the sense of which is very well expressed by the following line in *Milton*,

Whereby they may direct their future life.

400. — now I feel by proof,

*That fellowship in pain divides not smart,*] Our author here had in his eye this line of the poet,

*Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris. Thyer.*

402. *Nor lightens ought each man's peculiar load.*] I think it will not be caviling to say, that each man's *peculiar load* should not be put in the mouth of Satan, who was no man, who had confessed to Christ that he was the unfortunate Arch-Fiend, and who speaks of himself. If Milton had been aware of it, he would have corrected it thus,

Nor lightens ought each *one's* peculiar load,

or in some other manner. Besides the word *man* is repeated here too often.

Nor lightens ought each *man's* peculiar load.

Small consolation then, were *man* adjoin'd :

This wounds me most (what can it less ? ) that *man*,  
*Man* fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. *Jortin.*

404. *This wounds me most &c*] Very  
 D 4

Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. 405

To whom our Saviour sternly thus reply'd.  
Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies  
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end ;  
Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come  
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns : thou com'st indeed, 410  
As a poor miserable captive thrall  
Comes to the place where he before had sat  
Among the prime in splendor, now depos'd,  
Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpity'd, shunn'd,  
A spectacle of ruin or of scorn 415  
To all the host of Heav'n : the happy place  
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,  
Rather inflames thy torment, representing  
Lost bliss to thee no more communicable,

So

Very artful. As he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief he endeavors to soften his crimes by assigning this cause of them.

Warburton.

This wounds me most (what can it less ? ) that man,  
Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more.

The poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fall'n man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was

one great part of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the foil wing answer taking no other notice of it than by replying *Deservedly thou griev'st &c* *Tyer.*

416. — *the happy place &c* ] The same noble sentiment we find also in Paradise lost. IX. 467.

But the hot Hell that always in him burns,

Though in mid Heav'n, &c.

*Thyer.*

417. *Im-*



So never more in Hell than when in Heav'n. 420

But thou art serviceable to Heav'n's King.

Wilt thou impute t' obedience what thy fear

Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites ?

What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem

Of righteous Job, then cruelly to' afflict him 425

With all inflictions ? but his patience won.

The other service was thy chosen task,

To be a liar in four hundred mouths ;

For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.

Yet thou pretend'st to truth ; all oracles 430

By thee are giv'n, and what confess'd more true

Among the nations ? that hath been thy craft,

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.

But what have been thy answers, what but dark,

Ambiguous

417. *Imparts to thee*] In all the editions it is printed *Imports to thee*, but in the Errata of the first edition we are desired to read *Imparts to thee*. It is no wonder that the errors of the first edition are continued in the subsequent ones, when those errors do not much disturb the sense : but even where they make downright nonsense of the passage, they are still continued ; and we had a most remarkable instance a little before in ver. 400. *Never acquainted for Nearer acquainted*.

426. *With all inflictions ? but his patience won.*] So Mr. Fenton points this passage in his edition, and so it should be pointed. And the verb *won* I think is not often used as a verb neuter, but I find it so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*. B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 39.

And he the stoutest knight that ever *won*.

434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark,*] The oracles were often so obscure and dubious,

Ambiguous and with double sense deluding, 435  
 Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,  
 And not well understood as good not known?  
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine  
 Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct  
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440  
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?

For

dubious, that there was need of  
 other oracles to explain them. Sed  
 jam ad te venio,

Sancte Apollo qui umbilicum cer-  
 tum terrarum obfides,  
 Unde superstitiosa primum sæva  
 evasit vox fera,

tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus to-  
 tum volumen implevit, partim fal-  
 sis, ut ego opinor, partim casu ve-  
 ris, ut sit in omni oratione sæpissi-  
 me; partim *flexiloquis*, & *obscuris*,  
 ut *interpretes egeat interprete*, & *sors*  
*ipsa ad sortes referenda sit*; partim  
*ambiguïs*, & *quæ ad dialecticum de-*  
*ferenda sunt*. Cicero De Div. II. 56.

Calton.

Milton in these lines about the  
 Heathen oracles seems to have had  
 in view what Eusebius says more  
 copiously upon this subject in the  
 fifth book of his *Præparatio Evan-*  
*gelica*. That learned father rea-  
 sons in the very same way about  
 them, and gives many instances  
 from history of their delusive and  
 double meanings. It may not per-  
 haps be impertinent to mention

one by way of illustration. Cræ-  
 sus sending to consult the Delphic  
 oracle about the success of his in-  
 tended expedition against the Per-  
 sian received this answer,

Κρείσσον ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀργὴν  
 καταλυσαι.

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam  
 pervertet opum vim,

which by the ambiguity of one  
 word might either signify the con-  
 quest of the Persian empire, or the  
 ruin of his own: but he, as it was  
 natural enough for an ambitious  
 prince to do, construing it accord-  
 ing to his own flattering hopes, was  
 overcome and lost his kingdom.

Thyer.

447. But from him or his Angels  
*president*] Utitur etiam eis Deus  
 (Dæmonibus ad veritatis manife-  
 stationem per ipsos fiendam, dum  
 divina mytheria eis per Angelos re-  
 velantur. The words are quoted  
 from Aquinas (2da 2dæ Quæst. 172.  
 Art. 6) but the opinion is as old at  
 least as St. Austin, whose authority  
 he

For God hath justly giv'n the nations up  
 To thy delusions ; justly, since they fell  
 Idolatrous : but when his purpose is  
 Among them to declare his providence 445  
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,  
 But from him or his Angels president  
 In every province ? who themselves disdaining

T'approach

he and Peter Lombard alledge for it

*Calton.*

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian speaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles says — Dispositiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt, ita & hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum surantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Cæsi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Apol. C. 22. St. Austin more appositely to our present purpose, answering the Heathen boasts of their oracles says — tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferantur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam Dæmonum extortum est id prode cultoribus suis, quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel oraculis Angelorum. Aug. De Div. Dæmonum. Sect. 12. Tom. 6. Ed. Bened. And again Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernosque spiritus aliquem vera cog-

noscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile est, et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et iustus ad eorum poenam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoscendo patiantur, occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus. De Div. Quest. ad Simpl. L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6. The following passage from the same place of St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton says above at ver. 432.

— that hath been thy craft,  
 By mixing somewhat true to vent  
 more lies.

Miscet tamen isti (Dæmones) fallacias, & verum quod nosse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi sine prænunciant. *Thyer.*

447. — or his Angels president  
 In every province ? ] Milton has  
 here follow'd the Septuagint reading



T' approach thy temples, give thee in command  
 What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say 450  
 To thy adorers ; thou with trembling fear,  
 Or like a fawning parasite obey'ft ;  
 Then to thyself ascrib'ft the truth foretold.  
 But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd ;

No

ing in Deuteronomy. Ὅτι διέμε-  
 ρετο ὁ ὕψιστος ἐβη — ἐσησεν ὅτι ἐβη  
 πατα ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων διε.

Warburton.

453. *Then to thyself ascrib'ft the truth foretold.*] The Demons (Lactantius says) could certainly foresee, and truly foretel many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of Providence before their fall. And then they assumed all the honor to themselves, pretending to be the authors, and doers of what they predicted. Nam cum dispositiones Dei præsential, quippe qui ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus ; ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta sunt, vel fiunt, ipsi potissimum facere, aut fecisse videantur. Div. Inst. II. 16. Calton.

456. — *henceforth oracles are ceas'd.*] I would not censure Milton for mentioning the silence of oracles, at our Saviour's appearing in the world, both here and in his elegant hymn on Christ's nativity, because it adorns the poems, tho' it be a vulgar error. Fortin. As Milton had before adopted the

ancient opinion of oracles being the operations of the fall'n Angels, so here also again he follows the same authority in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully discuss'd in Fontenelle's history of oracles, and father Baltus's answer to him. Tbyer.

458. — *at Delphos*] In the famous controversy about ancient and modern learning Mr. Wotton reproves Sir William Temple, for putting *Delphos* for *Delphi*, every where in his Essays. Mr. Boyle justifies it, and says that it is used by all the finest writers of our tongue, and best judges of it, particularly Waller, Dryden, Creech, &c. If these authorities may justify Sir William Temple, they may also justify Milton ; but certainly the true way of writing is not *Delphos* in the accusative case, but *Delphi* in the nominative. And though one would not condemn those excellent writers, who have unawares fallen into the common error, yet to defend *Delphos* upon this only pretence, that it has been the custom of our English writers

to

Book I. PARADISE REGAIN'D.

45

No more shalt thou by oracling abuse

455

The Gentiles ; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,

And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice

Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos or elsewhere,

At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.

God hath now sent his living oracle

460

Into

to call it so ; is, as Dr. Bentley replies, like the Popish Priest, who for 30 years together had read *Mumpsimus* in his breviary instead of *Sumpsimus* ; and when a learned man told him of his blunder, I'll not change, says he, my old *Mumpsimus* for your new *Sumpsimus*.

460. God hath now sent his living oracle

*Into the world*] This heavenly oracle delivers himself here, in terms clear enough to alarm the Tempter : but it was not time yet to put an end to the temptation by giving him full conviction. *Tantum vero ei innotuit (Christus) quantum voluit : tantum autem voluit, quantum oportuit.* [Aug. De Civ. Dei IX. 21. I have put *ei* for *eis* to suit it to my present purpose] The Son of God was sent, a man amongst men to teach them *vi-va voce*, conveying his instructions to the understanding by the ear. In this view he was a *living oracle*, and distinguish'd from the other oracle, the Holy Spirit, who communicates himself by silent impressions upon the mind within.

But Christ had a nobler meaning. In the Greek Fathers he is still'd *αὐτὸς ζῶσα βῶλη, λόγος ζῶν*, essential life, the living counsel, and the living word of God. And St. John says that *in him was life, and the life was the light of men.* I. 4. This meaning was not unobserved by the Tempter. He easily perceived that the eternal Word might be the living oracle intended : and his words a little below ver. 475. seem to be a feign'd acknowledgment of what he would not yet believe, tho' he feared it might be true.

But thou art plac'd above me, thou art *Lord* ;

From thee I can and must submit indure

Check or reproof, and glad to scape so quit.

Thou art the first begotten of God, and *Lord* of all things ; and thou canst remand me to that dreadful deep, whither thy thunder drove me out of Heaven. *Calton.*

460. — *his living oracle*] We have

Into the world to teach his final will,  
 And sends his Spi'rit of truth henceforth to dwell  
 In pious hearts, an inward oracle  
 To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour ; but the subtle Fiend, 465  
 Though inly stung with anger and disdain,  
 Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.

Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,  
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will  
 But misery hath wrested from me : where 470  
 Easily canst thou find one miserable,  
 And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth ;  
 If it may stand him more in stead to lie,  
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure ?  
 But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord ; 475  
 From thee I can and must submit indure  
 Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit.  
 Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,

Smooth

have here corrected an error, which has prevailed in most of the editions, *loving* oracle instead of *living* oracle ; and another a little afterward, *an* inward oracle instead of *an* inward oracle.

474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure ?* ] Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounc'd their republican



Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to th' ear,  
 And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song ; 480  
 What wonder then if I delight to hear  
 Her dictates from thy mouth ? most men admire  
 Virtue, who follow not her lore : permit me  
 To hear thee when I come (since no man comes)  
 And talk at least, though I despair to' attain. 485  
 Thy Father, who is holy, wise and pure,  
 Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest  
 To tread his sacred courts, and minister  
 About his altar, handling holy things,  
 Praying or vowing, and vouchsaf'd his voice 490  
 To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet  
 Inspir'd ; disdain not such access to me.

To whom our Saviour with unalter'd brow.  
 Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,  
 I bid not or forbid ; do as thou find'st 495  
 Permission from above ; thou can'st not more.

He

publican principles at the restora-  
 tion ? *Thyrc.*

saying of Medea. Ov. Met. VII.  
 20.

482. — *most men admire*  
*Virtue, who follow not her lore :*  
 Imitated from the well known

—Video meliora, proboque ;  
 Deteriora sequor.

497. — *and*

He added not ; and Satan bowing low  
 His gray diffimulation, disappear'd  
 Into thin air diffus'd : for now began  
 Night with her sullen wings to double-shade 500  
 The desert ; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd ;  
 And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

497.—and Satan bowing low  
*His gray diffimulation,*] An expression this, which your little word-catching critics will very probably censure, but readers of true taste admire. It is a true instance of the *feliciter audet*. There is another of the same kind in this book, where the poet says, speaking of the angelic quire, ver. 170.

— and in celestial measures  
 mov'd,  
 Circling the throne and singing,  
*while the hand*  
*Sung with the voice.* Thyer.

498. — disappear'd  
*Into thin air diffus'd :*] So Virgil  
 of Mercury. *Æn.* IV. 278.

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis  
 evanuit auras.

500. — to double-shade  
*The desert ;*] He has expressed  
 the same thought elsewhere

In double night of darkness, and  
 of shades.

And the reader will naturally observe how properly the images are taken from the place, where the scene is laid. It is not a description of night at large, but of a night in the desert ; and as Mr. Thyer says, is very short, tho' poetical. The reason no doubt was, because the poet had before labor'd this scene to the utmost perfection in his *Paradise Lost*.

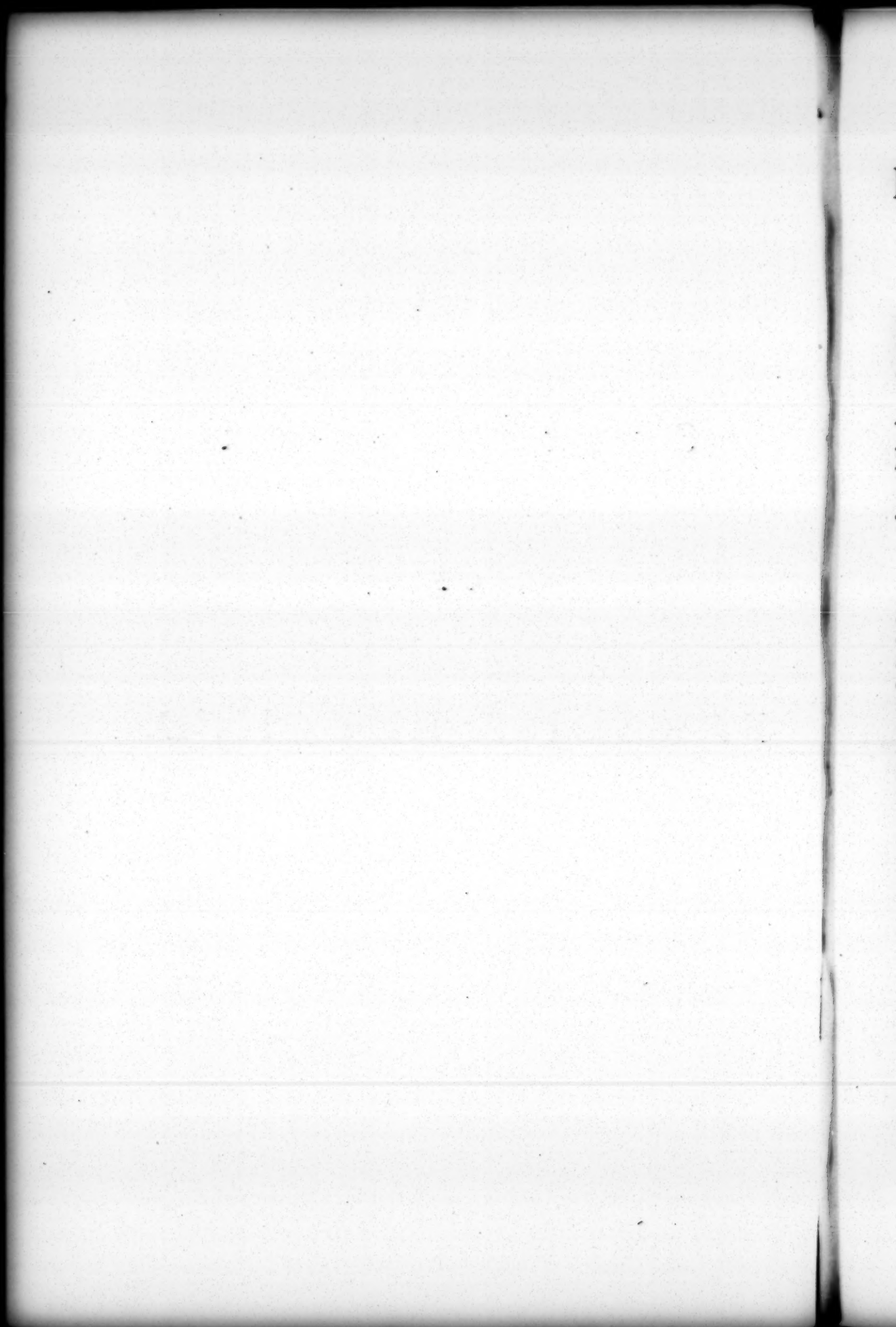
The end of the First Book.

THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

VOL. I.

E





## PARADISE REGAIN'D.

## B O O K II.

**M**EAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd

At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen  
Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd  
Jesus Messiah Son of God declar'd,

And

1. *Mean while the new-baptiz'd &c.]* The greatest and indeed justest objection to this poem is the narrowness of its plan, which being confin'd to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his temptation in the desert, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part, a defect most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contriv'd and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the

council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is not glaring and impassion'd, but cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers. That of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not a whit inferior to their most spirited speeches in the *Paradise Lost*. This may be given as one proof out of many others, that, if the *Paradise Regain'd* is inferior, as indeed I think it must be allow'd to be, to the *Paradise Lost*, it cannot justly be imputed, as some would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramp'd down by a more barren and contracted subject.

*Thyer.*

4. *Jesus Messiah Son of God declar'd,]* This is a great mistake in the poet. All that the people could

And on that high authority had believ'd, 5  
 And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd, I mean  
 Andrew and Simon, famous after known,  
 With others tho' in holy writ not nam'd,  
 Now missing him their joy so lately found,  
 So lately found, and so abruptly gone, 10  
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,

And

could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist and the voice from Heaven was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promis'd Messiah. Warburton.

6.

— I mean

*Andrew and Simon.*] This sounds very prosaic; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the Orlando Furioso. Cant. 31. St. 46.

And calling still upon that noble name,

That often had the Pagans overcome,

(I mean Renaldo's house of Montalbano.)

And again St. 55.

Further she did to Brandimart recount,

How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,

(I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomount.)

The particulars here related are

founded upon the first chapter of St John. Two of John's disciples, upon his testimony, followed Jesus: and they came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day. One of the two was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias; and he brought him to Jesus. These incidents our author improves to great advantage; and as his subject was scanty and barren, he sheweth his skill and judgment in embellishing it with as many particulars, and interesting as many persons in it, as he possibly could.

13. Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,] Virg. Æn. VI. 870.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra  
 Esse sinent.

16. And the great Thibite] Or Thibite as he is called in Scripture, 1 Kings XVII. 1. Elijah, a native of



And as the days increas'd, increas'd their doubt :  
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,  
 And for a time caught up to God, as once  
 Moses was in the mount, and missing long ; 15  
 And the great Thibbite, who on fiery wheels  
 Rode up to Heav'n, yet once again to come.  
 Therefore as those young prophets then with care  
 Sought

of Thibbe or Tishbe, a city of the country of Gilead beyond Jordan. *Yet once again to come.* For it hath been the opinion of the church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming as well as before his first : and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi IV. 5. *Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord &c.* and from what our Saviour says Mat. XVII. 11. *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.* These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, and shall restore all things. But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming; so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large in Mr. Mede's Discourse XXV. which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account of the fame and excellence of the

writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian.

18. *Therefore as those young prophets then with care*

*Sought lest Elijah, &c.] 2 Kings*

II. 17. *They sent fifty men, and they sought three days, but found him not. So in each place these nigh to Bethabara : such elleipses, as Mr. Symphon observes, are frequent, and especially in our author. In Jericho the city of palms, so it is called Deut. XXXIV. 3. and Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers describe it as abounding with those trees. Enon, mention'd John III. 23. as is likewise Salim or Salem. And John also was baptizing in Enon near to Salim. But there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it Salem old, unless he takes it to be the same with the Shalem mention'd Gen. XXXIII. 18. or confounds it with the Salem where Melchizedeck was king. Machærus, a castle in the mountainous part of Peræa or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run thro' the lake of*

Sought loft Elijah, so in each place these  
Nigh to Bethabara; in Jericho 20

The city' of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,  
Machærus, and each town or city wall'd  
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,  
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.

Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25  
Where winds with reeds and ofiers whisp'ring play,  
Plain fishermen, no greater men them call,  
Close in a cottage low together got,  
Their unexpected loss and complaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30  
Unlook'd for are we fall'n! our eyes beheld  
Messiah certainly now come, so long  
Expected of our fathers; we have heard  
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth;  
Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35

The

*Genezareth, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place on this side Jordan, or in Peræa, as it is said, beyond it.*

27. *Plain fishermen, no greater men them call,*] Imitated from the beginning of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar.

A shepherd's boy, no better do him call.

30. *Alas, from what high hope &c]* So we read in the first edition; in most of the others it is absurdly printed

Alas, from that high hope to what relapse.

The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd :  
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd  
 Into perplexity and new amaze :  
 For whither is he gone, what accident  
 Hath rapt him from us ? will he now retire 40  
 After appearance, and again prolong  
 Our expectation ? God of Israël,  
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come ;  
 Behold the kings of th' earth how they oppress  
 Thy chosén, to what highth their pow'r unjust 45  
 They have exalted, and behind them cast  
 All fear of thee ; arise and vindicate  
 Thy glory, free thy people from their yoke.  
 But let us wait ; thus far he hath perform'd,  
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50  
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown  
 In public, and with him we have convers'd ;

Let

Væ misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi ! Terence Heaut. II. III. 9.

34. — full of grace and truth ; ]  
 Quoted from John I. 14. *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, — full of grace and truth.*

36. *The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd :* ] They are properly made to talk in the language, and according to the expectations of

the Jews. *Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel ?* Acts I. 6.

42. *God of Israël, &c.* ] This sudden turn, and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful as it is surprising : and the prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them.



Let us be glad of this, and all our fears  
 Lay on his providence ; he will not fail,  
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55  
 Mock us with his blest fight, then snatch him hence ;  
 Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.

Thus they out of their complaints new hope resume  
 To find whom at the first they found unfought :  
 But to his mother Mary, when she saw 60  
 Others return'd from baptism, not her son,  
 Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,  
 Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,  
 Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd  
 Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.  
 O

56. *Mock us with his blest fight,  
 then snatch him hence ;* Virgil  
*Æn. I. 407.*

— falsis  
 Ludis imaginibus.

*Æn. VI. 870.*

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fa-  
 ta, neque ultra  
 Esse sinent. *Fortin.*

60. *But to his mother Mary*] The meaning of the common reading (if it have any, and be not a blunder of the press) must be — ad matrem quod attinet — *as for* or *as to* his mother Mary — *for* her part. Or the meaning might be

— But [to come] to his mother Mary — to [come next to speak of] his mother. Sanctius observes, that all languages delight in brevity. Milton certainly is fond of it in ours. His style is exceedingly elliptical, and sometimes cramped by an unnatural conciseness. This might be the case here ; but I would rather believe, that the poet dictated

But O ! his mother Mary, —

See the happy effect of a very small alteration ! The transition to the great mother is freed from an awkward ellipse ; and the poet brings her upon the scene, with a compassionate

O what avails me now that honour high 66  
 To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute  
 Hail highly favor'd, among women blest!  
 While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,  
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70  
 Of other women, by the birth I bore,  
 In such a season born when scarce a shed  
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me  
 From the bleak air ; a stable was our warmth,  
 A manger his ; yet soon enforc'd to fly 75  
 Thence into Egypt, till the murd'rous king  
 Were dead, who fought his life, and missing fill'd  
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem ;

From

passionate feeling of her grief. If this reading was but possessed of the editions, nothing could be objected to it.

Calton.

I am no friend to alterations of the text, unless they are absolutely necessary. The construction is — *But to his mother — within her breast — motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd some troubled thoughts* : and if the words were brought thus near together, there would not perhaps be thought that difficulty and perplexity in the syntax.

63. *Within her breast, though calm,  
 her breast though pure,  
 Motherly cares and fears got head,]*

A sentiment much of the same kind with that in the *Paradise Lost*, where upon the fall of our first parents it is said X. 23.

—dim sadness did not spare  
 That time celestial visages, yet  
 mix'd  
 With pity, violated not their  
 bliss :

and may also serve to confirm what has been observ'd in the note upon that place. How much more dignity and amiableness in this character than in that of a Stoical indifference and freedom from all perturbation as they term it ?

Thyer.

79. — in

From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth  
 Hath been our dwelling many years ; his life 80  
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,  
 Little suspicious to any king ; but now  
 Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,  
 By John the Baptist, and in public shown,  
 Son own'd from Heaven by his father's voice ; 85  
 I look'd for some great change ; to honor ? no,  
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,  
 That to the fall and rising he should be  
 Of many in Israel, and to a sign  
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90  
 A sword shall pierce ; this is my favor'd lot,  
 My exaltation to afflictions high ;  
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;

I

79. — in Nazareth

*Hath been our dwelling many years ;]*  
 She mentions this as part of their  
 distress, because the country of Ga-  
 lilee, whereof Nazareth was a city,  
 was the most despised part of Pa-  
 lestine, despised by the Jews them-  
 selves : and therefore Nathaniel  
 asketh Philip John I. 46. *Can*  
*there any good thing come out of Na-*  
*zareth ?*

93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems,*  
*and blest ;*

*I will not argue that, nor will re-  
pine.*

*But where delays he now ? some  
great intent*

*Conceals him :]* How charmingly  
 does Milton here verify the cha-  
 racter he had before given of the  
 blessed Virgin in the lines above ?

Within her breast though calm,  
 her breast though pure,  
 Motherly cares and tears got  
 head.

We see at one view the piety of  
the



I will not argue that, nor will repine.

But where delays he now? some great intent 95

Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,

I lost him, but so found, as well I saw

He could not lose himself; but went about

His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,

Since understand; much more his absence now 100

Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.

But I to wait with patience am inur'd;

My heart hath been a store-house long of things

And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary pond'ring oft, and oft to mind 105

Recalling what remarkably had pass'd

Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts

Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:

The

the faint, and the tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceiv'd more beautiful and moving than that sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in so abruptly upon the compos'd resignation express'd in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resign'd character again in these words — *some great intent conceals him.* Thyer.

103. *My heart hath been a store-house long of things*

*And sayings laid up, —*

*Thus Mary pond'ring oft.*] Alluding to what is said of her, Luke ii. 19. *But Mary kept all these things, and ponder'd them in her heart:* and again, ver. 51. *but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.* so consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture.

110. — *with*

The while her son tracing the desert wild,  
 Sole but with holiest meditations fed, 110  
 Into himself descended, and at once  
 All his great work to come before him set ;  
 How to begin, how to accomplish best  
 His end of being on earth, and mission high :  
 For Satan with sly preface to return 115  
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone  
 Up to the middle region of thick air,  
 Where all his potentates in council sat ;  
 There without sign of boast, or sign of joy,  
 Solicitous

110. — *with holiest meditations fed,*] An expression very significant, and the same with that in *Paradise Lost*. III. 37.

Then feed on thoughts &c.  
*Thyer.*

111. *Into himself descended.*] In sese descendere. *Persius* Sat. IV. 23.

115. — *with sly preface to return*] Mr. Symphon proposes to read,

— with sly purpose to return :

but *preface* is better, alluding to what Satan had said l. 483,

— permit me

To hear thee when I come, &c.

Satan's concluding speech at their first meeting was a preface to their meeting again.

122. — *from th' element*  
*Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd*

*Pow'rs of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,*] It was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul : εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες, ὧς καὶ πολλοὶ αὐτὶς γυνήτης Σίως, καθ' ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ἰσάτοιοι, οἱ δὲ ἀσάτοιοι, ἐν τε αἰθέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, αἰρὶ τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὧς μηδὲν κοσμοῦ μερὸς ψυχῆς ἀμοιβῶν εἶναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonic doctrine says cap. 5. Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from

Solicitous and blank he thus began

120

Princes, Heav'n's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones,  
 Demonian Spirits now from th' element  
 Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd  
 Pow'rs of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,  
 So may we hold our place, and these mild seats 125  
 Without new trouble ; such an enemy  
 Is risen to invade us, who no less  
 Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell ;  
 I, as I undertook, and with the vote  
 Consenting in full frequency was impower'd, 130  
 Have

from whence Milton borrow'd some of his notions of spirits, (as we observed in a note upon the Paradise Lost I. 423.) speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses:

πολλα δαιμονων γεινη, και παντο-  
 δαπαταις ιδιαις και τα σωματα·  
 ως εναι πληρη μιν τον αιρα, τον  
 τε υπερθεν ιμων και τον περι η-  
 μας· πληρη δε γαιαν και θα-  
 λατταν, και της μυχαιτατης και  
 βυθιης [βυθιης] τοσς, p. 41. and  
 he divides them into six kinds, the  
 fiery, the aery, the earthy, the  
 watry, the subterraneous, and the  
 lucifugous: το διαπυρον, το αι-  
 ριον, το χθονιον, το υδραιον τε

και ιεραιον, το υποχθονιον, το μι-  
 σοφαις και δυσαισθητον. p. 45.  
 Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the  
 Demons not only resided in the  
 elements, and partook of their na-  
 ture, but also presided and ruled  
 over them, as Jupiter in the air,  
 Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the  
 water, Cybele in the earth, and  
 Pluto under the earth.

130. — *in full frequency*] Mil-  
 ton, in his History of England, has  
 said, The assembly was *full and*  
*frequent*: and in Paradise Lost I.  
 797. the council of Devils was *fre-*  
*quent and full*. Here the adjective  
 is converted into a substantive, and  
 in I. 128: and Shakespear uses it  
 in the same manner. Timon Act 5.  
 Sc. 3.

Tell



Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find  
 Far other labor to be undergone  
 Than when I dealt with Adam first of men,  
 Though Adam by his wife's allurements fell,  
 However to this man inferior far, 135  
 If he be man by mother's side at least,  
 With more than human gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,  
 Perfections absolute, graces divine,  
 And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.  
 Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence 140  
 Of my success with Eve in Paradise

Deceive

Tell Athens in the *frequency* of  
 degree,  
 From high to low throughout.

136. *If he be man by mother's side  
 at least,*] The Tempter had no  
 doubt of Christ's being a *man by the  
 mother's side*: but the want of a  
 comma in its due place after *man*,  
 hath puzzled both the sense and  
 the construction. *He is* must be  
 understood at the end of the verse,  
 to support the syntax.

If he be man, by mother's side  
 at least [he is]. *Calton.*

We have still preserved the point-  
 ing of Milton's own edition; for  
 some perhaps may choose to join  
 the whole together, and understand  
 it thus. Satan had heard him de-

clar'd from Heaven, and knew him  
 to be the Son of God; and now  
 after the trial that he had made of  
 him, he questions whether he be  
 man *even* by the mother's side,

If he be man by mother's side at  
 least.

And it is the purport of Satan in  
 this speech not to say any thing to  
 the evil Spirits that may lessen, but  
 every thing that may raise their  
 idea of his antagonist.

139. *And amplitude of mind to  
 greatest deeds.*] There is a great  
 deal of dignity as well as signifi-  
 cancy in this expression, and none  
 certainly could have been better  
 selected to express the idea which  
 the poet intended to convey. He  
 borrow'd it very probably from  
 the

Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure  
 Of like succeeding here ; I summon all  
 Rather to be in readiness, with hand  
 Or council to assist ; lest I who erst  
 Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

So spake th' old Serpent doubting, and from all  
 With clamor was assur'd their utmost aid  
 At his command ; when from amidst them rose  
 Belial, the dissoluteſt Spi'rit that fell,  
 The sensualleſt, and after Asmodai  
 The fleſhlieſt Incubus, and thus advis'd.

Set

the following paſſage in Tully's *Tuſc. Diſp.* II. 25. *Hoc igitur tibi propone, amplitudinem et quaſi quandam exaggerationem quam altiffimam animi, quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et deſpiciendis doloribus, unam eſſe omnium rem pulcherriſſimam.* Milton had a very happy talent in the choice of words, and indeed it is a very conſiderable part of the poet's art. Let the reader but try to ſubſtitute any other word of the ſame ſignification in the place of *amplitude* in this verſe, and he will ſoon be convinc'd, that none can be found to fill it up with equal beauty and propriety.

Thyer.

150. *Belial, the diſſoluteſt &c*] I have heard theſe three lines ob-

jeſted to as harſh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true, they don't run very ſmoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgment ſo contriv'd, that the reader is oblig'd to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell as it were for ſome time upon that word in each verſe which moſt ſtrongly expreſſes the character deſcrib'd, viz. *diſſoluteſt, ſenſualleſt, fleſhlieſt*. This has a very good effect by impreſſing the idea more ſtrongly upon the mind, and contributes even in ſome meaſure to increaſe our averſion to the odious character of Belial by giving an air of deteſtation to the very

Set women in his eye, and in his walk,  
 Among daughters of men the fairest found;  
 Many are in each region passing fair 155  
 As the noon sky; more like to Goddeses  
 Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,  
 Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues  
 Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild  
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible t' approach, 160  
 Skill'd

very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read.

*Thyer.*

153. *Set women in his eye, &c.*] As this temptation is not mention'd, nor any hint given of it in the gospels, it could not so well have been propos'd to our Saviour, it is much more fitly made the subject of debate among the wicked Spirits themselves. All that can be said in commendation of the power of beauty, and all that can be alledged to depreciate it, is here summ'd up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have seen it in any other author. And the character of *Belial* in the *Paradise Lost*, and the part that he sustains there, sufficiently show how properly he is introduced upon the present occasion. He is said to be *the slefeliest Incubus* after *Asmodai*, or *Asmadai* as it is written *Paradise Lost* VI 365, or *Asmodius* IV. 168. the lustful Angel, who loved Sarah the daughter of

Raguel, and destroyed her seven husbands, as we read in the book of *Tobit*.

155. — *passing fair*] Our author had several times met with this phrase in his beloved Spenser and Shakespear; and particularly in Romeo's commendations of his mistress. Act 1. Scene 2.

Show me a mistress, that is *passing fair*;  
 What doth her beauty serve, but  
 as a note,  
 Where I may read who pass'd  
 that *passing fair*?

161. *Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw  
 Hearts after them*] In the same manner Milton in his description of Eve. *Paradise Lost*. VIII. 504.

Not obvious, not obtrusive, but  
 retir'd,  
 The more desirable.

*Hearts after them tangled in amorous  
 nets.* Milton seems to use the word  
*amorous*



Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw  
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.  
 Such object hath the pow'r to soft'n and tame  
 Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,  
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165  
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead  
 At will the manliest, resolute'st breast,  
 As the magnetic hardest iron draws.

Women,

*amorous* rather in the sense of the Italian *amorofo*, which is applied to any thing relating to the passion of love, than in its common English acceptation, in which it generally expresses something of the passion itself. *Thyer.*

166. *Draw out with credulous desire,*] This beautiful expression was form'd partly upon the *spes animi credula mutui* of Horace. *Od. IV. I. 30.*

— fond hope of mutual fire,  
The still-believing, still-renew'd desire,

as Mr. Pope paraphrases it. And as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is partly an allusion to Terence. *Andria. IV. I. 23.*

— Non tibi satis esse hoc visum  
solidum est gaudium  
Nisi me lactasses amantem, et  
*falsa spe produceres.*

168. *As the magnetic hardest iron draws.*] Lucian hath this *fi-*  
VOL. I.

mile in his *Imagines Vol. 2. p. 2. Ed. Græv.* Εἰ δὲ κακίστη προσ-  
βλεψῇ σε, τίς ἔσται μηχανὴ ἀπο-  
σῆναι αὐτῆς; ἀπαξὶ γὰρ σε ἀνα-  
δυσάμενη εἶθ' αὖ ἐβέλῃ, ὅπερ καὶ  
ἡ λίθος ἢ ἡρακλεία δρᾷ τὸν σιδη-  
ρον. But if the fair one once look  
upon you, what is it that can get  
you from her? She will draw you  
after her at pleasure, bound hand  
and foot, just as the loadstone  
draws iron. We may observe that  
Milton, by restraining the compa-  
rison to the power of beauty over  
the wisest men and the most stoical  
tempers, hath given it a propriety,  
which is lost in a more general  
application. See a little poem of  
Claudian's on the *Magnet*. It is  
the 5th of his *Eidyllia*. *Calton.*  
*As the magnetic,* It should be the  
*magnet*, or the *magnetic stone*: but  
Milton often converts the adjective,  
and uses it as the substantive. Mr.  
Thyer wishes some authority could  
be found to justify the omitting of  
this line, which in his opinion is  
F very

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart  
 Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170  
 And made him bow to the Gods of his wives.

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.  
 Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st  
 All others by thyself ; because of old  
 Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring 175  
 Their shape, their color, and attractive grace,  
 None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.  
 Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,

False

very low and mean ; and appears too the more so, as it immediately follows some of the finest and most masterly verses in the whole poem. The simile is in itself trite and common, and the conceit implied in the word *hardest* boyish to the last degree. This shows that all Milton's learning and genius could not entirely preserve him from being infected with that fanciful sort of wit, which too much prevailed in the age in which he first formed his taste.

117. *None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.* ] The line would be clearer, if it run thus,

None are, thou think'st, *taken but*  
 with such toys. *Sympson.*

178. *Before the flood &c* ] It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of

the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, Gen. VI. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair ; and they took them wives of all which they chose.* See *Paradise Lost* III. 463. and V. 447. But tho' he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shows elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain. *Paradise Lost* XI. 621.

To these that sober race of men,  
 whose lives  
 Religious titled them the sons of  
 God,  
 Shall yield up all their virtue,  
 all their fame

Ignobly,

False titled sons of God, roaming the earth  
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180  
 And coupled with them, and begot a race.  
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,  
 In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,  
 In wood or grove by mossy fountain side,  
 In valley or green meadow, to way-lay 185  
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,  
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,  
 Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

Too

Ignobly, to the trains and to the  
 smiles  
 Of these fair atheists.

180. *Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,*] In Psellus's Dialogue De Oper. Dæm. these sensualities seem to be confin'd to the three lowest orders of evil Demons: [p. 39. Ed. Gaulm. Lut. Par. 1615.] and Asmodai in the Greek of Tobit is called only a Demon or an evil Demon; tho' the Talmudists, Grotius says, [not. ad Tobiam] set him at the head of all the Demons. In our poet's time it was seriously believed by very learned men of our own, addicted to the Platonic philosophy, that the Devil had carnal commerce with witches. See More's Antidote against atheism. B. 3. chap. 12. *Calton.*

182. — *or by relation heard,*] Here Milton forgot himself. It is a Devil who speaks; yet the words can only suit the poet. *Warburton.*

188. *many more*  
*Too long,*] A concise way of speaking for *many more too long to mention.* The author had used it before. Paradise Lost III. 473. And indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better, if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the Gods. *Calisto, Semele, Antiopa* were mistresses to *Jupiter*; *Climene*, and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; *Amymone* to *Neptune*, and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry, tho' wrought by the hand of a *Titian*



Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,  
 Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190  
 Satir, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts  
 Delight not all; among the sons of men,  
 How many have with a smile made small account  
 Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd

All

tian or a Julio Romano. But our author makes ample amends in what follows.

190 *Apollo, Neptune, &c*] Both here and elsewhere Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons, or Devils. Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἰθὺς δαίμονια. Psal. XCV. 5. And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, from whom probably our author borrow'd it. εἰρησῆται γὰρ τ' ἀληθεῖς· ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες φανταί ἐπιφανίας ποιεῖσάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας ἐμποιήσαν, κ. τ. λ. For verily I must tell you, that heretofore these impure Spirits under various apparitions went into the daughters of men, and defiled boys, and dress'd up such scenes of horror, that such as enter'd not into the reason of things, but judg'd by appearance only, stood aghast at the specters, and being shrunk up with fear and amazement, and never imagining 'em to be Devils call'd 'em Gods, and invok'd 'em by such titles, as every Devil was

pleas'd to nick-name himself by. And again. But far be it from men of sense to harbour such opinions of the Gods, namely that their Jove the supreme, and Father of all the Gods, should be a parricide, and the son of a parricide, and be captivated by the vilest lusts, and descend upon Ganymede, and a crew of notorious adulteresses, and beget children after his own likeness. But as I have said, these were the actions of wicked Spirits. ἀλλ', ὡς προσημειώθημεν, οἱ δαίμονες ταῦτα ἐπραξαν. Apol. I. p. 10 & 33. Edit. Thirlbii.

196. *Remember that Pellean conqueror, &c*] Alexander the great, who was born at Pella in Macedonia: and his continence and clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle at Issus, are commended by the historians. Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem,

All her assaults, on worthier things intent ?

195

Remember that Pellean conqueror,

A youth, how all the beauties of the east

He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd ;

How he firnam'd of Africa dismiss'd

In his prime youth the fair Iberian maid.

200

For

ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet &c. Quint. Curt. Lib. 3. cap. 9. And this is the more extraordinary, as he was then a young conqueror of about 23 years of age, *a youth*, as Milton expresses it. It would have been happy, if he had behaved with the same moderation in other instances afterwards.

199. *How he firnam'd of Africa &c.*] The continence of *Scipio Africanus* at the age of 24, and his generosity in restoring a handsome Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius Lib. 10. and after him by Livy Lib. 26. cap. 50. and Valerius Maximus Lib. 4. cap. 3. and various other authors. And yet, notwithstanding these testimonies, a noble author hath lately called in question the truth of the fact, and the character of Scipio. "Now the reputation of the first Scipio was not so clear and uncontroversited in *private* as in public life ; nor was he allowed by all

" to be a man of such severe virtue as he affected, and as that age required. Nævius was thought to mean him in some verses Gellius has preserved. And Valerius Antias made no scruple to assert, that far from restoring the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauched and kept her. See *ib. Idea of a patriot king* p. 204. We hope this is said only for the sake of a particular application to a particular character, and should be sorry to have the world deprived of so shining an example of virtue, upon no better authority. For as an excellent writer has observed upon the occasion, " the words of Nævius are these,

Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe  
gessit gloriote,  
Cujus facia viva nunc vigent, qui  
apud gentes solus  
Præstat; eum suus pater cum pallio  
uno ab amica abduxit.

" These obscure verses were in Gellius's opinion, the sole foundation of Antias's calumny against the universal concurrence of  
F 3

For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full  
 Of honor, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond  
 Higher design than to enjoy his state ;  
 Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd ;  
 But he whom we attempt is wiser far  
 Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,  
 Made and set wholly on th' accomplishment  
 Of greatest things ; what woman will you find,

205

Though

“ of historians. His ego verbis  
 “ credo adductum Valerium An-  
 “ tiam adversum ceteros omnes  
 “ scriptores de Scipionis moribus  
 “ sensisse. Lib. 6. cap. 8. And  
 “ what he thought of this histo-  
 “ rian's modesty and truth, we  
 “ may collect from what he tells  
 “ us of him in another place,  
 “ where having quoted two tribu-  
 “ nial decrees, which he says he  
 “ transcribed from records, (ex  
 “ annalium monumentis) he adds,  
 “ that Valerius Antias made no  
 “ scruple to give the lie to them  
 “ in public. Valerius autem An-  
 “ tias, contra hanc decretorum  
 “ memoriam contraque auctori-  
 “ tates veterum annalium &c Lib.  
 “ 7. cap. 19. And Livy in his  
 “ 36th book, quoting this Antias  
 “ for the particulars of a victory,  
 “ subjoins, concerning the num-  
 “ ber of the slain, scriptori pa-  
 “ rum fidei sit, quia in eo augen-  
 “ do non alius intemperantior est.  
 “ And he that will amplify on

“ one occasion, will diminish on  
 “ another ; for it is the same in-  
 “ temperate passion that carries  
 “ him indifferently to either.” See  
 a Letter to the Editor of the Idea of  
 a patriot king &c. p. 25, 26.

210. On whom his leisure will  
 vouchsafe an eye  
 Of fond desire ? ] This eye of fond  
 desire is very beautifully expressed  
 by Æschylus, whom our author  
 perhaps had in view. Suppl. ver.  
 1011.

Και παρθένων χλιδαίσις ευμορ-  
 φοίς επι  
 Πας τις παρελθων ομματι· δελκ-  
 τηριον  
 Τοξευμ' επεμψεν, ιμερα νικωμεν·.  
 Thyer.

214. — as the zone of Venus once  
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so  
 fables tell ; ] Alluding to the  
 famous story in Homer, of Juno's  
 borrowing the girdle of Venus, and  
 thereby deceiving Jupiter. Iliad.  
 XIV. 214.

H,



Though of this age the wonder and the fame,  
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210  
 Of fond desire? or should she confident,  
 As fitting queen ador'd on beauty's throne,  
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt  
 T' enamour, as the zone of Venus once  
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell; 215  
 How would one look from his majestic brow

Seated

Η, καὶ ἀπο γηθισφιν ελευσατο  
 κρονον ἱμασία,  
 Ποικίλον· εἶθα δὲ οἱ θελήθηρα παν-  
 τὰ τέτακτο·  
 Εἰθ' ἐν μέν φιλοτῆς, ἐν δ' ἡμερῶν,  
 ἐν δ' οὐρανῶν,  
 Παρφασίς, ἢ τ' ἐκλεψε νοον πυκνὰ  
 περ φρονούντων.

Persuasive speech, and more per-  
 suasive sighs,  
 Silence that spoke, and elo-  
 quence of eyes. Pope.

But the words *so fables tell* look  
 as if the poet had forgot himself,  
 and spoke in his own person rather  
 than in the character of Satan.

She said. With awe divine the  
 queen of love  
 Obey'd the sister and the wife of  
 Jove :  
 And from her fragrant breast  
 the zone unbrac'd,  
 With various skill and high em-  
 broid'ry grac'd.  
 In this was every art, and every  
 charm,  
 To win the wisest, and the cold-  
 est warm :  
 Fond love, the gentle vow, the  
 gay desire,  
 The kind deceit, the still-reviv-  
 ing fire,

216. — *from his majestic brow*  
*Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,]*  
 Here is the construction that we  
 often meet with in Milton : from  
 his majestic brow, that is from the  
 majestic brow of him seated as on  
 the top of virtue's hill : and the ex-  
 pression of *virtue's hill* was prob-  
 ably in allusion to the rocky emi-  
 nence on which the virtues are  
 plac'd in the table of Cebes, or  
 the arduous ascent up the hill to  
 which virtue is represented point-  
 ing in the best designs of *the judg-  
 ment of Hercules*, particularly that  
 by Annibal Caracci in the palace  
 Farnese at Rome, as well as that  
 by

Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,  
 Discount'nance her despis'd, and put to rout  
 All her array ; her female pride deject,  
 Or turn to reverent awe ? for beauty stands 220  
 In th' admiration only of weak minds  
 Led captive ; cease to' admire, and all her plumes  
 Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,  
 At every sudden slighting quite abash'd :  
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225  
 His constancy, with such as have more show  
 Of worth, of honor, glory', and popular praise ;  
 Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd ;  
 Or that which only seems to satisfy  
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond ; 230  
 And now I know he hungers where no food  
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness ;  
 The rest commit to me, I shall let pass

No'

by Paolo Matthæi, painted by the  
 direction of Lord Shaftsbury ; but  
 the first thought of seating vir-  
 tue on a hill was borrowed from  
 old Hesiod. Oper. & Dier. I.  
 288.

— μακρὸν δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ οὐκ ἐπ'  
 αὐτῇ,

Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον ἔπη δ' εἰς  
 αὐτὴν ἵκηται,  
 ῥηιδίῃ δηπὺντα πτελεῖ, χαλεπὴ περ  
 ἔσχα.

228. — have oftest wreck'd ;]  
 We read according to Milton's own  
 edition *oftest*, which is better than  
*often* in the others.

232.—wide

No' advantage, and his strength as oft assay. 234

He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclame ;  
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band  
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile

To be at hand, and at his beck appear,  
If cause were to unfold some active scene  
Of various persons each to know his part ; 240

Then to the desert takes with these his flight ;  
Where still from shade to shade the Son of God  
After forty days fasting had remain'd,

Now hungry first, and to himself thus said. 244

Where will this end ? four times ten days I've pass'd  
Wand'ring this woody maze, and human food  
Nor tasted, nor had appetite ; that fast  
To virtue I impute not, or count part  
Of what I suffer here ; if nature need not,  
Or God support nature without repast 250

Though

232. — *wide wilderness* ; ] In most of the editions it is falsely printed *wild wilderness*.

244. *Now hungry first*.] There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungred* before the Devil first

tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first hungred*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and



Though needing, what praise is it to indure ?  
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares  
 Nature hath need of what she asks ; yet God  
 Can satisfy that need some other way,  
 Though hunger still remain : so it remain 255  
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,  
 And from the sting of famin fear no harm,  
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts that feed  
 Me hungring more to do my father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260  
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down  
 Under the hospitable covert nigh

Of

and consulting with his compa-  
 nions ? *Thyer.*

*Adfidet, et totum prope faucibus  
 occupat amnem.*

259. *Me hungring more to do my  
 Father's will.]* In allusion to  
 our Saviour's words John IV. 34.  
*My meat is to do the will of him that  
 sent me, and to finish his work.*

261. *Commun'd in silent walk,  
 then laid him down]* Agreeable  
 to what we find in the Psalms. IV.  
 4. *Commune with your own heart  
 upon your bed, and be still.*

264. *And dream'd, as appetite is  
 wont to dream,  
 Of meats and drink,]* To this pur-  
 pose I ucretius with great strength  
 and elegance. IV. 1018.

*Flumen item sitiens, aut fontem  
 propter amœnum*

266. *Him thought, &c.]* We say  
 now, and more justly, *he thought* ;  
 but *him thought* is of the same con-  
 struction as *me thought*, and is used  
 by our old writers, as by Fairfax  
 Cant. 13. St. 40.

*Him thought* he heard the softly  
 whistling wind.

*He by the brook of Cherith stood &c.*  
 Alluding to the account of Elijah.  
 1 Kings XVII. 5, 6. *He went and  
 dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is  
 before Jordan : And the ravens  
 brought him bread and flesh in the  
 morning, and bread and flesh in the  
 evening. As what follows, He saw the*

Of trees thick interwoven ; there he slept,  
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream, 264  
 Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet ;  
 Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,  
 And saw the ravens with their horny beaks  
 Food to Elijah bringing ev'n and morn, [brought :  
 Though ravenous, taught t' abstain from what they  
 He saw the prophet also how he fled 270  
 Into the desert, and how there he slept  
 Under a juniper ; then how awak'd,  
 He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,  
 And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,

And

*the prophet also &c.*, is in allusion to 1 Kings XIX. 4. &c. But he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a juniper-tree — And as he lay and slept under a juniper-tree, behold then, an Angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat. And he looked, and behold there was a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head ; and he did eat and drink, and laid him down again. And the Angel of the Lord came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat, because the journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights, unto Horeb the mount of God. And

Daniel's living upon *pulse and water* rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink is celebrated Dan. I. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. Lucretius IV. 959.

Et quoi quisque ferè studio de-  
 victus adhæret,  
 Aut quibus in rebus multum su-  
 mus antè morati,  
 Atque in qua ratione fuit conten-  
 ta magis mens,  
 In somnis eadem plerumque vi-  
 demur obire.

His very dreams are rightly made to show our Saviour to have meditated

And eat the second time after repose, 275  
 The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days ;  
 Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,  
 Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.  
 Thus wore out night, and now the herald lark  
 Left his ground nest, high tow'ring to descry 280  
 The morn's approach, and greet her with his song :  
 As lightly from his grassy couch up rose  
 Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream,  
 Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.  
 Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285  
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,  
 If

ditated much on the word of lines in all his works. Knight's  
 God. Tale. 1493.

278. *Or as a guest with Daniel  
 at his pulse.* Mr. Symphon  
 proposes to read, *Or was a guest  
 &c.*

279.—*and now the herald lark*]  
 This is a beautiful thought, which  
 modern wit hath added to the stock  
 of antiquity. We may see it rising  
 tho' out of a low hint of Theocri-  
 tus, like the bird from his *thatch'd*  
*pallat.* Idyll. X. 50.

*Αρχιστάσι δ' αμύλιας, εγυρομένης  
 πορυσάλλας.*

Chaucer leads the way to the Eng-  
 lish poets, in four of the finest

The merry lark, messengere of  
 the day,  
 Salewith in her song the morow  
 gray,  
 And firy Phebus ryfith up so  
 bright,  
 That all the Orient laughith at  
 the fight.  
 Faery Queen B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 51.  
 — when Una her did mark  
 Climb to her charet, all with  
 flowers spread,  
 From Heaven high to chace the  
 chearless dark,  
 With merry note her loud salutes  
 the mounting lark. *Calton.*  
 To



If cottage were in view, sheep-cote or herd ;  
 But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,  
 Only' in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,  
 With chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud ; 290  
 Thither he bent his way, determin'd there  
 To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade  
 High rooft, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,  
 That open'd in the midst a woody scene ;  
 Nature's own work it seem'd (nature taught art) 295  
 And to a superstitious eye the haunt  
 Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs ; he view'd it  
 When suddenly a man before him stood,

Not

To these instances we may properly add from Shakespear, Rom. & Jul. Act 3. Sc. 7.

It was the lark, the *herald* of the morn.

And the lark not only furnishes our author with a most beautiful description, but also with a most exact similitude.

As lightly from his grassy couch  
 up rose  
 Our Saviour.

282. *As lightly from his grassy couch* ] the same expression he uses in the Paradise Lost. IV. 600.

— for beast and bird,  
 They to their *grassy couch*.

Thyer.

293. — *and alleys brown,*] This idea our author derived from Italy and the Italian poets. He had expressed it before, Paradise Lost IX. 1088.

— where highest woods impenetrable  
 To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad  
 And *brown* as evening.

And the reader may see the word explain'd in Mr. Thyer's note upon Paradise Lost IV. 246. *Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.*

299. Not

Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,  
 As one in city', or court, or palace bred, 300  
 And with fair speech these words to him address'd.

With granted leave officious I return,  
 But much more wonder that the Son of God  
 In this wild solitude so long should bide  
 Of all things destitute, and well I know, 305  
 Not without hunger. Others of some note,  
 As story tells, have trod this wilderness ;

The

299. *Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man in rural weeds ; but now when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen, or a courtier : and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particulars have a grace and propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation.

302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,  
 I bid not or forbid ; do as thou find'st  
 Permission from above.

But as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for *granted leave*.

308. *The fugitive bond-woman*&c.] Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, Gen. XVI. 6. and is therefore called a *fugitive* ; and her name by interpretation (says Ainsworth) is a *fugitive* or *stranger* : but her son was not a fugitive, but an *out-cast* : so exact was our author in the use of his epithets. But then what shall we say to the words following, *Out-cast Nebaioth* ? For as Mr. Meadowcourt and others have observed, Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael, (Gen. XXV. 13.) and grandson of Abraham and Hagar.

The fugitive bond-woman with her son  
 Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief  
 By a providing angel ; all the race 310  
 Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God  
 Rain'd from Heav'n Manna ; and that Prophet bold  
 Native of Thebez wand'ring here was fed  
 Twice by a voice inviting him to eat :  
 Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315  
 Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To

Hagar. He seems here to be put by mistake for Ishmael. At least it is not usual to call the father by the name of the son.

313. *Native of Thebez.*] In the first edition it was falsely printed *Thebes*, but *Thebes* (says Mr. Meadocourt) was the birth-place of no prophet except blind Tiresias. However this reading hath prevailed throughout the editions, though in the table of Errata at the end of the first edition we are desired to correct and read *Thebez*, the same as *Thebe*, or *Thibe*, or *Tisbe*, the birth-place of the prophet Elijah. There is a *Thebez* mentioned, Judges IX. 50. where Abimelech was slain : and it looks as if our author took that and this to be the same place. He had before called Elijah *the great Thibite* ver. 16. and he might here more consistently have said *Native of Thibe* : but he seems to write sometimes, as if he had a mind

to make work for commentators.

313. — *wand ring here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wander'd with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with Manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain that they were very different places, for the wilderness, where Hagar wander'd, was *the wilderness of Beer-sheba* Gen. XXI. 14. and where the Israelites were fed with Manna was *the wilderness of Sin* Exod. XVI. 1. and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beer-sheba* 1 Kings XIX. 4. and where our Saviour was tempted, was *the wilderness near Jordan* : but our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguish'd by different names from the different places adjoining.

319. How



To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence?  
They all had need, I as thou see'st have none.

How hast thou hunger then? Satan reply'd.  
Tell me if food were now before thee set, 320  
Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like  
The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that  
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.  
Hast thou not right to all created things?  
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee 325  
Duty and service, not to stay till bid,  
But tender all their pow'r? nor mention I

## Meats

319. *How hast thou hunger then?*]  
These words seem to be wrong,  
they being neither an answer to  
the words preceding,

They all had need, I as thou  
see'st have none;  
nor corresponding to the words of  
Satan himself just after,

Tell me if food were now before  
thee set &c.

What if we read therefore,

*Dost thou not hunger then?*

*Sympson.*

There seems to be no occasion for  
any alteration. Satan could not  
doubt, whether our Saviour was  
hungry, for he knew very well  
that he was so, ver. 231.

And now I know he hungers  
where no food  
Is to be found, in the wide wil-  
derness:

and ver. 305.

Of all things destitute, and well  
I know,  
Not without hunger.

But our Saviour had said

They all had need, I as thou  
see'st have none;

and to this Satan replies directly  
and properly, *How hast thou hunger  
then without having need?*

325. *Owe not all creatures by just  
right to thee*

*Duty and service, &c.] The  
Tempter is got into the same cant-  
ing, dissembling strain as before  
I.*

Meats by the Law unclean, or offer'd first  
 To idols, those young Daniel could refuse ;  
 Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who 330  
 Would scruple that, with want oppress'd ? Behold  
 Nature asham'd, or better to express,  
 Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd  
 From all the elements her choicest store  
 To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord 335  
 With honor, only deign to sit and eat,

He spake no dream, for as his words had end,  
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld

In

I. 475. Christ is *Lord of nature* ver. 335 of this book, and all creatures owe him duty and service, and that *by right*. This could not be true, but on the supposition of his being the *Eternal Word* ; and to what purpose could the temptation be continued, if the Devil had been really convinced that he was so ?

Calton.

This part of the Tempter's speech alludes to that heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. One may observe too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve. *Paradise Lost*. IX. 539.

Thee all things living gaze on,  
 all things thine

By gift &amp;c.

Thyer.

VOL. I.

329—*those young Daniel could refuse* ;] *Dan.* I. 8 *But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank* : and the reason assign'd by commentators is, because in those and most other countries they used to offer some part of what they eat and drank to their Gods ; and therefore Daniel refused to partake of the provisions from the king's table, as of meats offered to idols, and consequently unclean. The poet had before mention'd *Daniel at his pulse* ver. 278 : and Moses in the mount, and Elijah in the wilderness are brought in several times, as history affords no instances of abstinence so like our Saviour's.

337 *He spake no dream,*] This

G

was

In ample space under the broadest shade  
 A table richly spread, in regal mode, 340  
 With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort  
 And favor, beasts of chase, or fowl of game,

In

was no dream as before ver. 264.  
 but a reality. And the banquet here furnish'd by Satan is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso Cant. 10. St. 64.

Apprestar sù l'herbetta, ou' è  
 più densa  
 L'ombra, e vicino al suon de  
 l'acque chiare  
 Fece disculti vasi altera mensa,  
 E ricca di vivande elette, e  
 care.  
 Era qui ciò, ch' ogni stagion dis-  
 pensa ;  
 Ciò che dona la terra, ò manda  
 il mare :  
 Ciò che l' arte condisce, e cento  
 belle  
 Servivano al convito accorte an-  
 celle.

Under the curtain of the green-  
 wood shade,  
 Beside the brook, upon the vel-  
 vet grass,  
 In massy vessel of pure silver  
 made,  
 A banquet rich and costly fur-  
 nish'd was ;  
 All beasts, all birds beguil'd by  
 fowler's trade,  
 All fish were there in floods or  
 seas that pass,

All dainties made by art, and at  
 the table

An hundred virgins serv'd, for  
 husbands able. Fairfax.

340. *A table richly spread, &c.]*  
 This temptation is not recorded in  
 Scripture, but is however invented  
 with great consistency, and very  
 aptly fitted to the present condition  
 of our Saviour. This way of em-  
 bellishing his subject is a privilege  
 which every poet has a just right  
 to, provided he observes harmony  
 and decorum in his hero's charac-  
 ter; and one may further add, that  
 Milton had in this particular place  
 still a stronger claim to an indul-  
 gence of this kind, since it was a  
 pretty general opinion among the  
 Fathers, that our Saviour under-  
 went many more temptations than  
 those which are mentioned by the  
 Evangelists; nay Origen goes so far  
 as to say, that he was every day,  
 whilst he continued in the wilder-  
 ness, attacked by a fresh one. The  
 beauties of this description are too  
 obvious to escape any reader of  
 taste. It is copious, and yet ex-  
 press'd with a very elegant concise-  
 ness. Every proper circumstance  
 is mentioned, and yet it is not at  
 all clogg'd or incumber'd, as is of-  
 ten the case, with too tedious a de-  
 tail



In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,  
 Gris-amber-steam'd ; all fish from sea or shore,  
 Freshet, or purling brook, of shell or fin, 345  
 And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd

Pontus

tail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occur'd in his *Paradise Lost*, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and labor'd it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before describ'd. See the note on his short description of night at the end of the first book. In a word, it is in my opinion work'd up with great art and beauty, and plainly shows the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradise Regain'd*. *Thyer.*

344. *Gris-amber-steam'd* ;] Ambergris or grey amber is esteemed the best, and used in perfumes and cordials. A curious lady communicated the following remarks upon this passage to Mr. Peck, which we will here transcribe. "Grey amber is the amber our author here speaks of, and melts like butter. It was formerly a main ingredient in every concert for a banquet ; viz. to fume the meat with, and that whether boiled, roasted, or baked ; laid often on the top of a baked pudding ;

" which last I have eat of at an old courtier's table. And I remember, in an old chronicle there is much complaint of the nobilities being made sick at Cardinal Wolsey's banquets, with rich sented cates and dishes most costly dressed with ambergris. I also recollect I once saw a little book writ by a gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's court, where ambergris is mention'd as the haut-gout of that age. I fancy Milton transposed the word for the sake of his verse ; to make it read more poetically." So far this curious Lady. And Beaumont and Fletcher in the *Custom of the Country*. Act III. Scene 2.

Be sure  
 The wines be lusty, high, and  
 full of spirit,  
 And amber'd all.

346. *And exquisitest name*,] He alludes here to that species of Roman luxury, which gave *exquisite names* to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.

Alas how simple, to these cates compar'd,

Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!

And at a stately side-board by the wine

350

That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood

Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue

Than

the names of *lacrymæ Christi* and *lac Virginis*.

Warburton.

347. *Pontus and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.*] The fish are brought to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus* or the Euxine sea in Asia, from the *Lucrine bay* in Europe in Italy, and from the *coast of Africa*. And all these places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity. It would be almost endless to quote the passages. Of the *Lucrine lake* in particular many derive the name à *lucro*, from the abundance of fish there taken.

349. — *that diverted Eve!*] It is used, as he uses many words according to their proper signification in Latin. *Diverto*, to turn aside. We should rather say *perverted*.

350. *And at a stately side-board &c.*] As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgment thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of eastern grandeur, in which part of the world it is

well known a great part of the pomp and splendor of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes to attend and divert the guests with music and singing. *Thyer.*

352. — *of fairer hue*

*Than Ganymed or Hylas;*] These were two most beautiful youths, and belov'd the one by Jupiter, and the other by Hercules. *Ganymed* was cup-bearer to Jupiter, and *Hylas* drew water for Hercules, and therefore they are both properly mentioned upon this occasion.

355. — *and Naiades*] Milton is not to be blamed for writing as others did in his time. But since the critics have determin'd to write *Naiades* in three syllables, or *Naiades* in four, it is time for the English poets to call these nymphs *Naiads*, and not *Naiads*. *Jortin.*

356. — *from Amalthea's horn,*] The same as the cornu copiæ; the horn of plenty. *Amalthea* was, as some say, a Naid, the nurse of Jupiter, who nourish'd him with the milk of a goat, whose horn was afterwards made the horn of plenty; others

Than Ganymed or Hylas ; distant more  
 Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood  
 Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355  
 With fruits and flow'rs from Amalthea's horn,  
 And ladies of th' Hesperides, that seem'd  
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Of

others say, that Amalthea was the name of the goat.

357. *And ladies of th' Hesperides,* ] If we compare this with what the Devil says a little lower, ver. 374.

All these are Spirits of air and woods and springs,

we shall find that they do not tally each to the other, for the Hesperides were neither ladies of woods nor springs. *Symphon.*

What are the Hesperides famous for but the gardens and orchards which they had bearing golden fruit in the western isles of Africa ? They may therefore not improperly be rank'd, they and their ladies with the Spirits of woods and springs.

357. *And ladies of th' Hesperides, that seem'd &c.* ] This is the pointing of the first, and all the editions ; but I take it to be wrong. The Demons *seem'd* (or were like) nymphs of Diana's train &c, but they were really fairer than those nymphs, &c, were feign'd to be. This I take to be the poet's thought, and therefore the comma should be put after *seem'd*. *Calton.*

This is very good sense, but it may be question'd whether *that seem'd* may be referred so far back as to *nymphs of Diana's train*; and if these Spirits were some *nymphs of Diana's train*, and some *Naiades*, others might as well be said to be *ladies of th' Hesperides* ; and then *that seem'd* will be join'd in construction, as it is plac'd, with what follows,

Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since  
 Of faery damsels &c.

But here seems to be some defect in the syntax, as if the poet had meant to say *Fairer than feign'd of old, or what has been fabled since of faery damsels met in forest wide by knights, &c*, of whom he had read in his romances, where it is not so easy to trace him, but the name of Sir *Pelleas* occurs in the Faery Queen B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 39.

358. ——— *or fabled since &c.* ] Some readers may perhaps in this passage think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading, a fault which he is indeed sometimes guilty of : but those who are conversant in romance-writers, and



Of faery damsels met in forest wide  
 By knights of Logres, or of Lyones, 360  
 Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore :  
 And all the while harmonious airs were heard  
 Of chiming strings, or charming pipes, and winds  
 Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd  
 From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells. 365  
 Such was the splendor, and the Tempter now  
 His invitation earnestly renew'd.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat ?  
 These are not fruits forbidden ; no interdict  
 Defends the touching of these viands pure ; 370  
 Their

know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will I doubt not discover great propriety in this allusion. *Tbyer.*

363. *Of chiming strings, or charming pipes,*] So Spenser hath used the verb *charms*. Faery Queen, B. 4. Cant. 9. St. 13.

Like as the fowler on his guileful pipe  
*Charms* to the birds full many a pleasant lay. *Calton.*

363. — and winds  
*Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd*  
*From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.*] Milton, I fancy, introduc'd this circumstance in allu-

sion to the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, for the reason alledged in the note on ver. 350. He has express'd the very same idea in the *Paradise Lost* in the following lines IV. 156.

— now gentle gales  
 Fanning their odoriferous wings  
 dispense  
 Native perfumes, and whisper  
 whence they stole  
 Those balmy spoils :

and by this little specimen one may see, as I observ'd before, that our poet's imagination did not flag in the latter part of his life, and that there is no difference in the *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regain'd*, but

Their taste no knowledge works at least of evil,  
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,  
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.

All these are Spi'rits of air, and woods, and springs,  
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375

Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord :  
What doubt'st thou Son of God ? fit down and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temp'rately reply'd.  
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right ?  
And who withholds my pow'r that right to use ? 380  
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,  
When and where likes me best, I can command ?

I

but such as was occasioned by the different subjects. *Thyer.*

368. *What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat ?* What seems to be used here much like the Latin *quid*, which signifies both what and why, as we observed in Paradise Lost. II. 329.

What fit we then [projecting peace and war ?

370. *Defends the touching*] Forbids, prohibits, hinders, as the word is used in Paradise Lost XI. 86. XII. 207. where the reader may see other instances.

379. *Saidst thou not &c*] If Christ was really the *eternal living Word of God*, the Tempter knew the cer-

tainty of the consequence, that he must of right be *Lord of all things* : and Christ by admitting the last to be a truth, (as he doth here) consequentially asserts the principle; for one cannot hold without the other.

Saidst thou not that to all things I had right ?

The *right* of the Son of God being founded on his *power*, his *power* must needs be fully adequate to his *right*. He therefore adds,

And who withholds my pow'r that right to use ?

In the two next lines Christ's *strict natural propriety* is distinguish'd from a *right by gift*.

G 4

Shall

I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,  
 Command a table in this wilderness,  
 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385  
 Array'd in glory on my cup to' attend :  
 Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence,  
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find ?  
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do ?  
 Thy pompous delicacies I contemn, 390  
 And count thy specious gifts no gifts but guiles.  
 To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.  
 That I have also pow'r to give thou seest ;

If

Shall I receive by gift what of  
*my own,*  
 When and where likes me best,  
 I can command ? *Calton.*

385. — *flights of angels*] An  
 expression likewise in Skakespear.  
 Hamlet, Act 5. Sc. 6.

And *flights of angels* sing thee to  
 thy rest.

391. — *thy gifts no gifts*] Ex-  
 press'd from the Greek proverb.  
 Sophocles. Ajax 675.

Ἐχθρὸν ἀδωρεὰ δωρεὰ, καὶ ἐκ οὐκ  
 οὐκ.

401. — *the far fet spoil.*] *Fet*  
 is much softer than *fetch'd*, and it  
 is used by Chaucer, Squire's Tale  
 296.

This strangir knight is *set* to him  
 full sone ;

and by Spenser, Faery Queen B. 3.  
 Cant. 1. St. 8.

Whom strange adventure did  
 from Britain *set* ;

and Meiopotmos,

Not Bilbo steel, nor brags from  
 Corinth *set* :

and by Johnson, Prol. to Silent  
 Woman,

Though there be none *far set* :

and in prose as well as in verse by  
 Sir Philip Sidney, Arcad. p. 360.  
 Therewith he told her a *far set*  
 tale: Defence of Poetry p. 551. and  
 much less with *far set* maxims of  
 philosophy : as if our old writers  
 had



If of that pow'r I bring thee voluntary  
 What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd, 395  
 And rather opportunely in this place  
 Chose to impart to thy apparent need,  
 Why shouldst thou not accept it? but I see  
 What I can do or offer is suspect;  
 Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400  
 Whose pains have earn'd the far fet spoil. With that  
 Both table and provision vanish'd quite  
 With sound of harpies wings, and talons heard;  
 Only th' impòrtune Tempter still remain'd,

And

had a better ear, and studied the  
 beauties of sound more than the  
 moderns.

401. — *With that &c]* The  
 breaking off short of the verse ad-  
 mirably expresses the sudden and  
 abrupt manner, wherein

Both table and provision vanish'd  
 quite

With sound of harpies wings,  
 and talons heard;

in which the author has imitated  
 Virgil *Æn.* III. 225.

At subitæ horrifico lapsu de mon-  
 tibus adsunt

Harpyiæ, et magnis quatiant  
 clangoribus alas,  
 Diripiuntque dapes.

When from the mountain-tops,  
 with hideous cry,  
 And clatt'ring wings, the hungry  
 harpies fly;

They snatch the meat. *Dryden.*

And we have a like scene in *Skake-  
 spear*, in the *Tempest* Act III.  
 where *several strange shapes bring  
 in a banquet*, and afterwards enters  
*Ariel like a harpy, claps his wings  
 upon the table, and with a quaint de-  
 vice the banquet vanishes.*

404. *Only th' impòrtune Tempter  
 still remain'd,]* The word *im-  
 pòrtune* is often pronounced with  
 this accent by our old writers, as  
*Spenser Faery Queen B. 1. Cant.*  
 12. St. 16.

And often blame the too *impòr-  
 tune* fate:

and

And with these words his temptation pursu'd.

By hunger, that each other creature tames,  
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd ;  
Thy temperance invincible besides,  
For no allurement yields to appetite,  
And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410  
High actions ; but wherewith to be achiev'd ?  
Great acts require great means of enterprise ;  
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,

A

and B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 38.

The which dividing with *impôr-  
tune* sway :

and Cant. 11. St. 7.

With greedy malice and *impôr-  
tune* toil :

whereas now, I think, we com-  
monly pronounce it with the ac-  
cent upon the last syllable in the  
adjective, and always in the verb,  
*importune*.

419. *What followers, what re-  
tinue canst thou gain,*

*Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,*  
&c] This is a strange passage ! I  
read

*Or at thy heels what dizzy mul-  
titude,*

but it does not please me.

*Symphon.*

There are two words unhappily  
lost in the second line by the negli-

gence of the poet's amanuensis or  
printer, which may be restor'd, I  
think, with certainty enough. Be-  
hold them, Reader, in the place  
they seem to me to have a right  
to ; consider and judge.

*Or at thy heels how keep the  
dizzy multitude.*

One may almost venture to deter-  
min on the side of these claimants,  
from what our blessed Saviour saith,  
in the beginning of his reply to this  
speech of the Tempter.

Yet wealth without these three  
is impotent  
To gain dominion, or to keep it  
gain'd.

Milton's verses are not always to  
be measur'd by counting syllables  
on the fingers ends. There are ex-  
amples enow in him, and other  
poets, in blank verse especially, of  
these *Hypercatalectic* verses, as one  
may

A carpenter thy father known, thyself  
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home, 415  
 Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit :  
 Which way or from what hope dost thou aspire  
 To greatness? whence authority deriv'ft?  
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain?  
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420  
 Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?  
 Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms :  
 What

may call them; where the two last syllables are redundant. One or two from Milton will be sufficient.

Extolling patience as the truest fortitude Samf. Ag. ver. 655.

But this is from the Chorus. Take another from a speech of Dalila's, ver. 870.

Private respects must yield; with grave | authority.

But an instance of it from Paradise Lost will be most to the purpose, IX. 249.

For sol | itude | sometimes | is  
 best | sociēty. Calton.

This reading makes very good sense, and clears the syntax: but most readers, I imagin, rather than admit such a *Hypercatalectic* verse, will understand *the dizzy multitude* as the accusative case after the

verb *gain*, making favorable allowances for a little inaccuracy of expression.

422. *Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms:* ] Mammon in the Faery Queen attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences. B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 11.

Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,  
 That money can thy wants at will supply?  
 Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet  
 It can purvey in twinkling of an eye;  
 And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.  
 Do I not kings create, and throw the crown  
 Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie?

And



What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,  
 And his son Herod plac'd on Juda's throne, 424  
 (Thy throne) but gold that got him puissant friends?  
 Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,  
 Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,  
 Not difficult if thou hearken to me;  
 Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;  
 They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain, 430  
 While virtue, valor, wisdom sit in want.

To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.  
 Yet wealth without these three is impotent

To

And him that reign'd into his  
 room thrust down,  
 And whom I lust do heap with  
 glory and renown? *Calton.*

423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite, &c.*] This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φιλῶ δι τις Ὑγκαιὺ Ἰδερμαῖος, Ἀλιπατῆρος λεγομένου, πολλὰ μὲν εὐπορίας χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. *Antiq. Lib. XIV. Cap. 1.* And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favor of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the Money which he promised to give him—τα δὲ καὶ ὑπο χρημάτων ὦν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ὑπισχέτο δοσὶν αὐτῷ γένοιτο βασιλεὺς. *Ibid. Cap. 14.*

427. *Get riches first,*] *Quærenda pecunia primum. Hor. Ep. l. l. 53.*

429. *Riches are mine, &c.*] This temptation we also owe to our author's invention, and 'tis very happily contriv'd, not only as it leads the reader gradually on to those stronger ones in the following book, but as it is so justly fitted to the character of the Tempter, the prince of Hell, who was supposed by all antiquity to be the king and disposer of riches. Hence was he stil'd Pluto from πλοῦτος divitiæ. Spenser much in the same taste places *the deluge of Mammon* close by the entrance into Hell. *Faery Queen B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 24.*

Betwixt them both was but a little stride,  
 That did the house of riches from Hell-mouth divide. *Thyer.*

432. To

To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.

Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435

In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd :

But men indued with these have oft attain'd

In lowest poverty to highest deeds ;

Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,

Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440

So many ages, and shall yet regain

That seat, and reign in Israel without end.

Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world

To me is not unknown what hath been done

Worthy'

432. *To whom thus Jesus &c.]* When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line run thus, ver. 378,

To whom thus Jesus *temp'rately* reply'd.

But now when Satan has reproach'd him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

To whom thus Jesus *patiently* reply'd.

439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,]* Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, which was certainly the best known to him ; but it is with great art that the poet also

supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, *O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manassah, and I am the least in my father's house.* Judges VI. 15. And Jephtha was the son of an harlot, and his brethren thrust him out, and said unto him, *Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.* Judges XI. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheephook to a scepter is very well known. He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds. From following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. Psal. LXXVIII. 70, 71.

446. *Quin-*

Worthy' of memorial) canst thou not remember 445  
 Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus ?

For I esteem those names of men so poor  
 Who could do mighty things, and could contemn  
 Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings.

And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450  
 May also in this poverty as soon

Accomplish

446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintius* (not *Quintus*, as it is in most of the editions besides the first) Cincinnatus was twice invited from following the plough to be consul and dictator of Rome ; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans : and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the public expense, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assign'd him for the reward of his victories : and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offer'd him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not

to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon : but *Regulus* was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonorable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation : And as Mr Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue ; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them : but the greatest honor that poetry ever did them, is here, by the praise of the Son of God. .

447. *For I esteem &c*] The author



Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?  
 Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,  
 The wise man's cumbrance if not snare, more apt  
 To slacken virtue, and abate her edge, 455  
 Than prompt her to do ought may merit praise.  
 What if with like aversion I reject  
 Riches and realms; yet not for that a crown,  
 Golden

thor had here plainly Claudian in  
 mind. De IV. Conf. Honor. 412.

*Discitur hinc quantum paupertas  
 sobria possit :*

*Pauper erat Curius cum reges  
 vinceret armis :*

*Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum  
 sperneret aurum :*

*Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator  
 aratra : &c.*

And again In Rufinum I. 200.

*Semper inops, quicunque cupit.  
 contentus honesto*

*Fabricius parvo spernebat mune-  
 ra regum,*

*Sudabatque gravi Consul Serra-  
 nus aratro,*

*Et caesa pugnaces Curios angusta  
 tegebat.*

*Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.*

And it is probable that he remem-  
 ber'd here some of his beloved re-  
 publicans,

—those names of men so poor

Who could do mighty things—

and it is possible that he might also  
 think of himself, who

— could condemn

Riches though offer'd from the  
 hand of kings,

if that story be true of his having  
 been offer'd to be Latin secretary  
 to Charles the 2d, and of his re-  
 fusing it.

453. *Extol not riches then, &c.]*  
 Milton concludes this book and our  
 Saviour's reply to Satan with a se-  
 ries of thoughts as noble and just,  
 or, to say all in one word, as  
 worthy of the speaker as can pos-  
 sibly be imagined: and I think one  
 may venture to affirm, that as the  
 Paradise Regain'd is a poem en-  
 tirely moral and religious, the ex-  
 cellency of which does not consist  
 so much in bold figures and strong  
 images as in deep and virtuous sen-  
 timents express'd with a becoming  
 gravity, and a certain decent ma-  
 jesty, this is as true an instance of  
 the sublime as the bottles of the  
 Angels in the Paradise Lost.

*Thyer.*

458. —yet not for that a crown,  
 I reject them, yet not for that rea-  
 son because a crown &c: and in  
 setting

Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,  
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights  
 To him who wears the regal diadem, 461  
 When on his shoulders each man's burden lies ;  
 For therein stands the office of a king,  
 His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,  
 That for the public all this weight he bears. 465  
 Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules  
 Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;  
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains :  
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule  
 Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470  
 Subject himself to anarchy within,  
 Or lawless passions in him which he serves.  
 But to guide nations in the way of truth

By

setting forth the duty and office of a king, let the friends of the house of Stuart consider, whether he intended any compliment to the king then reigning.

466. *Yet he who reigns within himself, &c.*] Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets, as Hor. Od. II. II. 9.

*Latius regnes avidum domando Spiritum &c.*

and Sat. II. VII. 83.

*Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens ;  
 sibi qui imperiosus, &c.*

473. *But to guide nations &c.*] In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has cull'd all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects ; it is not so much their words, as their substance sublimated and improv'd : but here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher.

By saving doctrin, and from error lead  
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475  
 Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,  
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;  
 That other o'er the body only reigns,  
 And oft by force, which to a generous mind  
 So reigning can be no sincere delight. 480  
 Besides to give a kingdom hath been thought  
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down  
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.  
 Riches are needles then, both for themselves,  
 And for thy reason why they should be sought, 485  
 To gain a scepter, ofttest better mis'd.

teacher, as the life and character of  
 our blessed Saviour.

481. *Besides to give a kingdom &c.]*  
 So Hephæstion to those who trans-  
 ferred the kingdom of Sidon from  
 themselves to another. Quint. Curt.  
 IV. 1. Vos quidem macti virtute,  
 inquit, estote, qui primi intellexi-  
 stis, quanto majus esset, regnum

fastidire quam accipere &c. Dio-  
 cletian, Charles V, and others who  
 have resign'd the crown, were no  
 doubt in our author's thoughts upon  
 this occasion. For as Seneca says,  
 Thyest. III. 529.

Habere regnum, casus est: vir-  
 tus, dare.

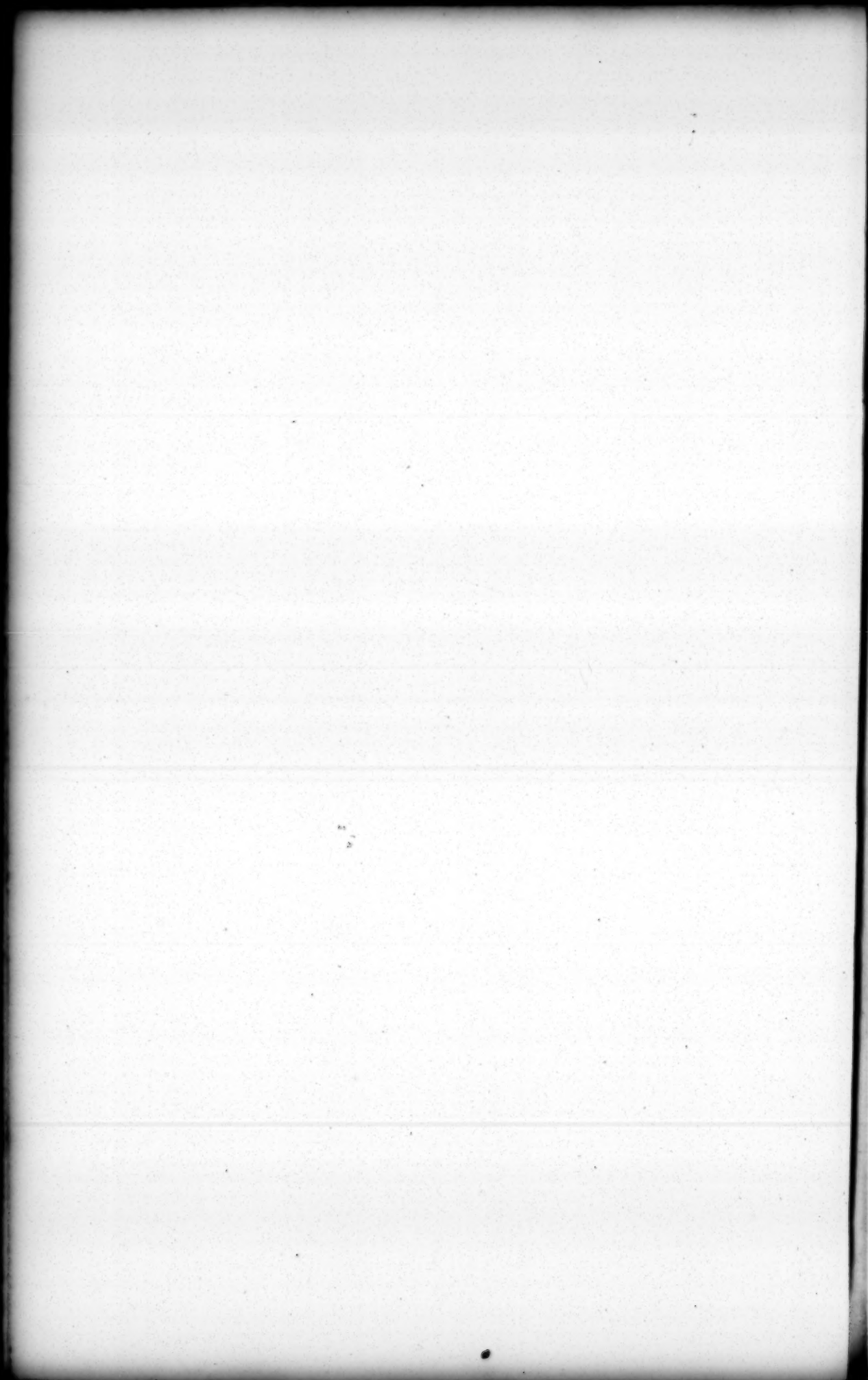
The end of the Second Book.



9

THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE REGAIN'D.

H 2





## PARADISE REGAIN'D.

## B O O K III.

SO spake the Son of God, and Satan stood  
 A while as mute confounded what to say,  
 What to reply, confuted and convinc'd  
 Of his weak arguing, and fallacious drift ;  
 At length collecting all his serpent wiles, 5  
 With soothing words renew'd, him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,  
 What best to say canst say, to do canst do ;  
 Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words  
 To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart 10

Contains

10, — *thy heart*  
*Contains of good, wise, just, the*  
*perfect shape.*] Milton, no  
 doubt, by the word *shape* intended  
 to express the meaning of the Greek  
 term *idea*, but in my opinion it  
 does not at all come up to it, and  
 seems rather harsh and inelegant.  
 There are words in all languages,  
 which cannot well be translated  
 without losing much of their beau-  
 ty, and even some of their mean-  
 ing ; of this sort I take the word  
*idea* to be. Tully renders it by the

word *species* with as little success in  
 my opinion as Milton has done  
 here by his English *shape*. *Thyer.*  
*Of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.*  
 I should rather think it express'd  
 from the *perfecta forma honestatis*,  
 and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Ci-  
 cero. De Fin. II. 15. Habes undi-  
 que expletam et *perfectam*, Tor-  
 quate, *formam honestatis*, &c. De  
 Off. I. 5. *Formam* quidem *ipsam*,  
 Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *ho-*  
*nesti* vides ; quæ si oculis cernere-  
 tur &c. And the more, because

Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.  
 Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,  
 Thy counsel would be as the oracle  
 Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems  
 On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old 15  
 Infallible: or wert thou fought to deeds  
 That might require th' array of war, thy skill  
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world  
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist

In

he renders *forma* by *shape* in the *Paradise Lost*. IV. 848.

Virtue in her *shape* how lovely.

13.

— as the oracle

*Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems*

On Aaron's breast; &c.] Aaron's breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them, which being fixed to the ephod, or upper vestment of the high-priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say the Scriptures, were put. And the learned Prideaux, after giving some account of the various opinions concerning *Urim and Thummim*, says it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant only the divine virtue and power,

given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection, which these oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim* *perfection*. But Milton by adding

— those oraculous gems  
 On Aaron's breast—

seems to have been of the common received opinion among the Jews, that the answer was given by the precious stones, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest, and that in them he did read the answer. But as Dr.

In battel, though against thy few in arms.

20

These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,

Affecting private life, or more obscure

In savage wilderness? wherefore deprive

All earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself

The fame and glory, glory the reward

25

That sole excites to high attempts, the flame

Of most erected spi'rits, most temper'd pure

Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,

All

Dr. Prideaux says, it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high-priest appear'd before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within behind the veil.

— or tongue of seers old  
Infallible :

The poet by mentioning this after *Urim and Thummim* seems to allude to another opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux Connect. Part I. Book III.

17. — *thy skill*

*Of conduct would be such,*] The meaning is, thy skill in conducting an army would be such, that &c : so that there is no occasion for reading, as Mr. Meadowcourt has propos'd, *thy skill And conduct,*

which would be an alteration for the worse, the commendation in this place not being of his *skill* in general, but of his *skill of conduct* in particular.

25. — *glory the reward*] Our Saviour having withstood the allurements of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought, that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who in his second book of the Faery Queen representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches or *Mammon's delve* as he terms it, and immediately after it to the palace of glory, which he describes in his allegorical manner under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotimè*. Thyer.

27. *Of most erected spirits,*] The  
H 4 author



All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,  
 And dignities and pow'rs all but the highest ? 30  
 Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe ; the son  
 Of Macedonian Philip had ere these  
 Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held  
 At his dispose ; young Scipio had brought down  
 The Carthaginian pride ; young Pompey quell'd 35  
 The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.

Yet

author here remember'd Cicero. *Pro Archia.* Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. *De Off.* l. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.

31. *Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe ;*] Our Saviour's temptation was soon after his baptism, and he was baptized when he was about *thirty years of age.* Luke III. 23. And *the son of Macedonian Philip*, Alexander the great, *had ere these*, before these years, *won Asia and the throne of Cyrus*, the Persian empire founded by Cyrus, *held at his dispose* ; for Alexander was but 20 when he began to reign, and in a few years overturned the Persian empire, and died in the 33d year of his age. *Young Scipio had brought down the Carthaginian pride* ; for Scipio Africanus was no more than 24 years old, when he was sent proconsul into

Spain, and was only between 28 and 29, when he was chosen consul before the usual time, and transferr'd the war into Africa. *Young Pompey quell'd the Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.* In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest, for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above 40, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honor of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year ; and the Manilian law, which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when Cicero was in the 41st year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were, and Plutarch himself, who speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second

Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,  
 Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.  
 Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,  
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40  
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long  
 Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus reply'd.  
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth

For

second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the great, would not allow him to be quite 34, whereas in truth at this time he was near 40. ἡλικία δὲ τότε ἦν (ὡς μὲν οἱ κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προσεβάζοντες ἀξίῃσι) ἡντιμὲν τῶν τριακοντῶν καὶ τετρακοντῶν, ἀληθεῖα δὲ τοῖς τετρακοντῶν προσήγειν. Plut. Vit. Pompeii.

41. — *wept that he had liv'd so long*  
*Inglorious:* ] Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondring at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquer'd so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?

See Plutarch's Life of Cæsar. Others say, it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the great—animadversa apud Herculis templum magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit; et quasi pertæsus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum à se memorabile actum esset in ætate quam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, &c. Suetonii Jul. Cæs. cap. 7.

44. *Thou neither dost persuade me*  
 &c.] How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only sure basis, the approbation of the God of truth? There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance at all to assert, that he has compris'd in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages. *Töyer.*  
 The justness of this remark will appear

For empire's sake, nor empire to affect

45

For glory's sake by all thy argument.

For

appear to greater advantage by the learned collection out of the Hea-then moralists in the following note of Mr. Jortin.

47. *For what is glory &c]* The love of glory is a passion deeply rooted in us, and difficultly kept under. Τῆς κειροδοξίας, ὡς τελευταίων χιτῶνα, ἡ ψυχὴ περιέχειν ἀποτίθεισθαι, says Plato. Helvidius Priscus, as Tacitus relates, was possessed of all the virtues which make a great and a good man. He was a Stoic into the bargain, and therefore bound by the principles of his philosophy to set a small value upon the τὰ ἐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν yet erant quibus appetentior famæ videretur: quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur. Hist. IV. 5. As at Rome and in Greece a spear, a crown of oak or laurel, a statue, a public commendation, was esteemed an ample recompense for many brave actions; so it is as true, that not a few of their great men were over fond of fame, and mere slaves to the love of it. Let us see what the philosophers have said concerning a greedy desire of glory, such a desire of it as leads men to make it the ruling principle of their actions, and incites them to do well only, or chiefly in order to be admired. We shall find them condemning it, and saying things agreeable enough to what Milton

puts into the mouth of our Saviour. Illud autem te admoneo, ne eorum more, qui non proficere sed conspici volunt, facias aliqua. Seneca, Epist. V. Qui virtutem suam publicari vult, non virtuti laborat, sed gloriæ. Id. Epist. CXIII. Cavenda est gloriæ cupiditas, is a lesson delivered by one who in that particular did not practice what he taught. De Officiis I.

Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa  
piacula, quæ te  
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare  
libello. Hor. Epist. I. 1.

An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos, sicut operarios barbarosque contemnas, eos esse aliquid putare universos? Cicero, Tusc. Disp. V. 36. where Dr. Davies: Egregium hoc monitum Socrati debetur, qui Alcibiadem, in concionem populi prodire veritum, ita excitavit: Οὐ καταφρονεῖς (εἵπε Σωκράτης) ἐκίμῃ τῇ σκυτοτομῇ; τὸ ὄνομα εἶπὼν αὐτὸν φησαίῃς· δὲ τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, ὑπολαβὼν παλιν ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰτι δὲ ἐκίμῃ τῇ ἐν τοῖς κυκλοῖς κηρυττοίῃ; ἢ ἐκίμῃ τῇ σκηνογραφίῃ; ὁμολογεῖσθαι δὲ τῇ Κλεινῇ μισρακίῃ, ἢ ἐν, εἴφῃ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ δὲ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν ἡθροῖσται; καὶ εἰ τῶν καθ' εἰς καταφρονητῶν, ἀρα καὶ τῶν ἡθροισμένων. Epictetus, Enchir. XLV. says: Σημεῖα προκοπῆς· εὐδαιμονία ψυχῇ, εὐδαιμονία πταίῃ, εὐδαιμονία μῆ-



For what is glory but the blaze of fame,  
The peoples praise, if always praise unmix'd ?

And

μιμνῆσθαι, ὅστις ἐκαλεῖται, ὅστις πε-  
ρὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει, — καὶ τις αὐτοῦ  
ἐπαινεῖ, καταγελαστὴ ἐπαινεῖται  
αὐτοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ψιγῇ, καὶ  
ἀπολογεῖται. Signa proficientis

sunt : neminem vituperat, nemi-  
nem laudat, de nemine queritur,  
neminem incusat, nihil de seipso  
dicit, — et si quis ipsum laudet,  
ridet laudantem ipse secum ; et si  
vituperet, non se purgat. Idem  
apud Stobæum : Οὐδὲς φιλοχρη-  
ματῶν, καὶ φιληδονῶν, καὶ φιλο-  
δοξῶν, καὶ φιλαίθρων, ἀλλὰ  
μοιῶν ὁ φιλοκαλῶν. Nemo pecu-  
niæ amans, et voluptatis, et glo-  
riæ simul homines amat ; sed solus  
honesti amans. So Plato De Re-  
pub. I. says, that a fondness of  
glory is as mean a vice as a fond-  
ness of money. Many such like  
passages might be added, particu-  
larly from Marcus Aurelius, and  
other Stoical writers. The Stoics,  
tho' they refused to give fame and  
glory a place amongst good things,  
yet I think did not slight the esteem  
of good men : they distinguish be-  
tween gloria and claritas. Gloria  
multorum judiciis constat, claritas  
bonorum. — [Sed claritas] potest  
unius boni viri iudicio esse conten-  
ta. Seneca, Epist. CII. I cannot  
forbear inserting here a passage  
from Seneca, which I believe will  
please the reader as much as it  
does me : it relates to that fond  
hope which we writers, good, bad,  
and indifferent, are apt to enter-

tain, that our name and labors  
shall be immortal, and it tells us  
as elegantly as truly what we have  
to expect. Profunda supra nos al-  
titude temporis veniet, pauca in-  
genia caput exserent, et in idem  
quandoque silentium abitura obli-  
vioni resistent, ac se diu vindica-  
bunt. Epist. XXI. We expect that  
Time should take the charge of  
our writings, and deliver them  
safe to the latest posterity : but  
he is as surly and whimsical as  
Charon :

Stabant orantes primi transmit-  
tere cursum,

Tendebantque manus ripæ ulte-  
rioris amore.

Navita sed tristis nunc hos, nunc  
accipit illos,

Ast alios longe summos arcet  
arena.

If we have the mortification to see  
our works die before us, we may  
comfort ourselves with the consi-  
deration, which Seneca suggests to  
us, that a time will come when the  
most excellent and admired com-  
positions shall perish. Nor is the  
consolation much smaller, which  
offers itself to us, when we look  
back and consider how many good  
authors there must needs have been,  
of whom no memorial is left, and  
how many of whom nothing but  
the bare name survives, and how  
many books are extant indeed, but  
never read.

Aufer

And what the people but a herd confus'd, 49  
 A miscellaneous rabble, who extol [praise?  
 Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the  
 They praise, and they admire they know not what,  
 And know not whom, but as one leads the other ;  
 And what delight to be by such extoll'd,  
 To live upon their tongues and be their talk, 55  
 Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise ?  
 His lot who dares be singularly good.  
 Th' intelligent among them and the wise

Are

Aufer abhinc lacrimas, Barathro,  
 & compeſce querelas ;  
 Lumina ſis oculis etiam bonus  
 Ancus reliquit,  
 Qui melior multis, quam tu,  
 fuit, improbe, rebus.

To theſe motives of contentment  
 under ſuch circumſtances, I need  
 not add what every neglected au-  
 thor ſays to himſelf, that the age  
 he lives in has no taſte. *Fortin.*

56. *Of whom to be diſprais'd were  
 no ſmall praiſe ?* ] So it is in  
 Milton's own edition, *diſprais'd* ;  
 in moſt of the others it is *deſpis'd*,

Of whom to be *deſpis'd* were no  
 ſmall praiſe :

but we have reſtor'd the firſt read-  
 ing for very obvious reaſons.

57. *His lot who dares be ſingularly  
 good.* ] A glorious example of  
 this ſingular goodneſs is exhibited in

the character and behaviour of the  
 Seraph Abdiel in the *Paradiſe Loſt*.  
 And perhaps the poet might think  
 it likewise his own caſe, and at this  
 time was not without a pleaſing  
 reflection upon himſelf, who *dar'd*  
 to be as ſingular in his opinions  
 and in his conduct, as any man  
 whatever.

59.—*and glory ſcarce a few is  
 rais'd.* ] Seneca would prove  
 in his 102d Epistle, that the judg-  
 ment of one good man is ſufficient  
 to conſtitute this *glory* or *clarity*, as  
 he calls it: for *glory* according to  
 him is the judgment of the many,  
*clarity* of the good. If one good  
 man, ſays he, thinks well of me,  
 it is the ſame as if all good men  
 thought well of me, becauſe if  
 they all knew me, they would all  
 think as he doth ; ſo that the judg-  
 ment of all is really included in  
 that of one. *Quia ſi de me bene*  
 vir

Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.  
 This is true glory and renown, when God 60  
 Looking on th' earth, with approbation marks  
 The just man, and divulges him through Heaven  
 To all his Angels, who with true applause  
 Recount his praises : thus he did to Job, 64  
 When to extend his fame through Heav'n and Earth,  
 As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,  
 He ask'd thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job ?  
 Famous he was in Heav'n, on Earth less known ;  
 Where

vir bonus sentit, eodem loco sum, quo, si omnes boni idem sentirent; omnes enim, si me cognoverint, idem sentient. Par illis idemque judicium est. *Calton.*

60. *This is true glory and renown, when God &c.]* Here is a glory that is solid and substantial, express'd (as Tully says) non adumbrata ; and that will indure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are perished. There is a pretty passage near the end of the last book of Hieronymus Osorius's treatise De Gloria, where the author is considering that honor, which consists in the approbation and applause of God and Angels, as a reward of virtue in the life to come. Nam si laudatoris amplitudo ad dignitatis amplificationem pertinet, quid esse potest Christi majestate magnificentius ? Si verum judicium in certa gloria ra-

tionem requirimus, Deus solus intimos hominum sensus perspectos habet. Si laudantis constantiam attendimus, divina mens nullam in omni æternitate potest habere mutationem. Si lucem et celebritatem consideres, tunc clarorum hominum laudes coram omnibus angelis et hominibus illustrabuntur. Si ad diuturnitatem *animum adver-tas*, [in my edition it is *animadver-tas*] nullum finem sunt ullis unquam sæculis habituræ. Quid igitur illa gloria divinius, quam mentes castæ in illa cœlesti regione consequentur ? Est enim dignitate laudatoris immensa, spectatorum celebritate clarissima, diuturnitate temporis infinita. *Calton.*

67. *He ask'd thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job ?]* Job I. 8. *And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth,*



Where glory is false glory, attributed  
 To things not glorious, men not worthy' of fame.  
 They err who count it glorious to subdue 71  
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run  
 Large countries, and in field great battels win,  
 Great cities by assault : what do these worthies,  
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and inslave 75  
 Peaceable

*a perfect and an upright man, one  
 that feareth God, and escheweth evil.  
 See too II. 3.*

69. *Where glory is false glory, at-  
 tributed*

*To things not glorious, men not  
 worthy of fame.] True glory*  
 (Tully says) is the praise of good  
 men, the echo of virtue : but that  
 ape of glory, the random injudi-  
 cious applause of the multitude, is  
 often bestowed upon the worst of  
 actions. Est enim gloria solida  
 quædam res et expressa, non ad-  
 umbrata: ea est consentiens laus bo-  
 norum, incorrupta vox bene judi-  
 cantium de eccellente virtute : ea  
 virtuti resonat tanquam imago : —  
 illa autem, quæ se ejus imitatricem  
 esse volt, temeraria atque inconfi-  
 derata et plerumque peccatorum  
 vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popu-  
 laris, simulatione honestatis for-  
 mam ejus pulchritudinemque cor-  
 rumpit. Qua cæcitate homines,  
 cum quædam etiam præclara cupe-  
 rent, eaque nescirent nec ubi nec  
 qualia essent, funditus alii everte-

runt suas civitates, alii ipsi occide-  
 runt. Tusc. Disp. III. 2. When  
 Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputa-  
 tions, Julius Cæsar had overturned  
 the constitution of his country, and  
 was then in the highth of his  
 power; and Pompey had lost his  
 life in the same pursuit of glory.  
 Of him the alii ipsi occiderunt—  
 may very well be understood.

*Calton.*

71. *They err who count it glorious*  
 &c] From hence to ver. 88. we  
 have a just and complete character  
 of the great conquerors of the  
 world, who instead of being, as  
 they have too often been, the idols  
 of mankind, ought rather to be  
 the principal objects of their ut-  
 most averfation. The character is  
 general, but yet not without parti-  
 cular allusions ; as when it is said

— must be titled Gods,  
 Great Benefactors of mankind,  
 Deliverers,

it is in allusion to the titles of *Theus*,  
*Evergetes*, and *Soter*, which have of-  
 ten been ascrib'd by their sycophants

Peaceable nations, neighb'ring, or remote,  
 Made captive, yet deserving freedom more  
 Than those their conquerors, who leave behind  
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,  
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy, 80  
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,  
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,

Worshipt

phants and flatterers to the worst  
 of tyrants : and when it is said

One is the son of Jove, of Mars  
 the other,

Alexander is particularly intended  
 by the one, and Romulus by the  
 other, who tho' better than Alex-  
 ander, yet it must be said founded  
 his empire in the blood of his bro-  
 ther, and for his overgrown ty-  
 ranny was at last destroy'd by his  
 own senate. And certainly the  
 method that Milton has here ta-  
 ken is the best method that can  
 be taken of drawing general cha-  
 racters, by selecting the particulars  
 here and there, and then adjusting  
 and incorporating them together ;  
 as Apelles from the different beau-  
 ties of several nymphs of Greece  
 drew his portrait of Venus, the  
 Goddess of beauty.

74. — *What do these worthies  
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter,  
 and enslave  
 Peaceable nations, neighb'ring, or  
 remote, &c]* Milton saith not

a word directly of the exploits of  
 those heroes, who in pursuit of  
 false glory had done what Cæsar  
 did. He was unwilling perhaps to  
 give his readers occasion to reflect,  
 that there was a Cæsar in his own  
 time and country, whom he had  
 prais'd, admir'd, and serv'd.

Calton.

81. *Then swell with pride, and  
 must be titled Gods, &c]* The  
 second Antiochus king of Syria  
 was called Antiochus Θεός or the  
 God : and the learned author De  
 Epoch. Syro-Macedonum p. 151.  
 speaks of a coin of Epiphanes in-  
 scribed Θεῷ Επιδανῷ. The Athe-  
 nians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes,  
 and his father Antigonus the titles  
 of Ευεργεταί Benefactors, and Σω-  
 τήρες Deliverers. The last was a  
 divine title ; [See Suidas in voce  
 Σωτήρ] and they finish'd the com-  
 pliment by calling their Head-ma-  
 gistrate, instead of Archon, ἱερεὺς  
 Σωτήρων, Priest of the Deliverers.  
 Plut. in vita Demetrii. Calton.

96. Poor

Worshipt with temple, priest and sacrifice ;  
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;  
 Till conqu'ror Death discover them scarce men, 85  
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,  
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.  
 But if there be in glory ought of good,  
 It may by means far different be attain'd  
 Without ambition, war, or violence ; 90  
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,  
 By patience, temperance : I mention still  
 Him whom thy wrongs with faintly patience borne  
 Made famous in a land and times obscure ;  
 Who names not now with honor patient Job ? 95  
 Poor

96. *Poor Socrates (who next more  
 memorable ? ) &c.]* Milton here  
 does not scruple with Erasmus to  
 place Socrates in the foremost rank  
 of Saints ; an opinion more ami-  
 able at least, and agreeable to that  
 spirit of love which breathes in  
 the Gospel, than the severe or-  
 thodoxy of those rigid textuaries,  
 who are unwilling to allow salva-  
 tion to the moral virtues of the  
 Heathen. *Thyer.*

98. ——— *lives now  
 Equal in fame to proudest conque-  
 rors.]* And therefore the very  
 ingenious author of the vision of  
 the Table of Fame has given him

a place there with Alexander, and  
 Cæsar, and the most celebrated he-  
 roes of antiquity. See the Tatler  
 N<sup>o</sup> 81 by Mr. Addison. And the  
 no less ingenious author of the  
 Temple of Fame has made him  
 the principal figure among the bet-  
 ter sort of heroes.

Much-suffring heroes next their  
 honors clame,  
 Those of less noisy, and less  
 guilty fame,  
 Fair Virtue's silent train : su-  
 preme of these  
 Here ever shines the godlike So-  
 crates.

And if Mr. Addison had completed his



Poor Socrates (who next more memorable?)  
By what he taught and suffer'd for so doing,  
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now  
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.

Yet if for fame and glory ought be done, 100

Ought suffer'd ; if young African for fame  
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,  
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,  
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.

Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek, 105

Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his  
Who sent me', and thereby witness whence I am.

To whom the Tempter murm'ring thus reply'd.

Think

his design of writing a tragedy of Socrates, his success in all probability would have been greater, as the subject would have been better than that of Cato.

101. — if young African for  
fame

His wasted country freed from Punic rage,] This shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be said with propriety to have freed his wasted country from Punic rage, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa after

the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punic war.

106. — *I seek not mine, but his Who sent me', and thereby witness whence I am.] I honor my Father, I seek not mine own glory, says our Saviour in St. John's Gospel VIII. 49, 50: and this he urgeth as a proof of his divine mission, VII. 18. He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.*

Think not so slight of glory ; therein least  
 Resembling thy great Father : he seeks glory, 110  
 And for his glory all things made, all things  
 Orders and governs ; nor content in Heaven  
 By all his Angels glorify'd, requires  
 Glory from men, from all men good or bad,  
 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption ; 115  
 Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift  
 Glory' he requires, and glory he receives  
 Promiscuous from all nations, Jew, or Greek,  
 Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd ;

From

109. *Think not so slight of glory ;*  
 &c.] There is nothing throughout  
 the whole poem more expressive of  
 the true character of the Tempter  
 than this reply. There is in it all  
 the real falshood of *the father of*  
*lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an  
 insidious deceiver. The argument  
 is false and unsound, and yet it is  
 veil'd over with a certain plausible  
 air of truth. The poet has also  
 by introducing this furnish'd him-  
 self with an opportunity of ex-  
 plaining that great question in di-  
 vinity, why God created the world,  
 and what is meant by that glory  
 which he expects from his crea-  
 tures. This may be no improper  
 place to observe to the reader the  
 author's great art in weaving in-  
 to the body of so short a work so

many grand points of the Christian  
 theology and morality. *Thyer.*

118. *Promiscuous from all nations,*  
 The poet puts here into the mouth  
 of the Devil the absurd notions of  
 the apologists for Paganism. See  
 Themistius Orat. XII. de Relig.  
 Valent. Imp. ταυτα τοις θεοις γινωσκει  
 &c. p. 160. *Warburton.*

121. *To whom our Saviour fer-*  
*vently reply'd.*] As this poem  
 consists chiefly of a dialogue be-  
 tween the Tempter and our Sa-  
 viour, the poet must have labor'd  
 under some difficulty in composing  
 a sufficient variety of introductory  
 lines to the several speeches, and  
 it required great art and judgment  
 to vary and adapt them so properly  
 as he hath done to the subject in  
 hand. We took notice of a beauty  
 of

Book III. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 115

From us his foes pronounc'd glory' he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently reply'd.  
And reason ; since his word all things produc'd,  
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,  
But to show forth his goodness, and impart  
His good communicable to every soul 125  
Freely ; of whom what could he less expect  
Than glory' and benediction, that is thanks,  
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense  
From them who could return him nothing else,  
And not returning that would likeliest render 130  
Contempt

of this kind in a note upon II. 432 : and here we have another instance not unworthy of our observation. When the Tempter had proposed to our Saviour the baits and allurements of glory, he was nothing mov'd, but reply'd with great calmness and composure of mind. ver. 43.

To whom our Saviour *calmly*  
thus reply'd :

but now the Tempter reflects upon the glory of God, our Saviour is warm'd upon the occasion, and answers with some eagerness and fervor.

To whom our Saviour *fervently*  
reply'd.

And this is perfectly just, and a-

greeable to the true character of our Saviour, who was all meekness and forbearance in every thing that related to himself, but where God's honour was concern'd, was warm and zealous ; as when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, insomuch that the disciples apply'd to him the saying of the Psalmist, *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.* John II. 17.

128. *The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense*] The same sentiment in the Paradise Lost. IV. 46.

What could be less than to afford him praise,  
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,  
How due !

130. *And not returning that*] We have  
1 2



Contempt instead, dishonor, obloquy ?  
 Hard recompense, unsuitable return  
 For so much good, so much beneficence.  
 But why should man seek glory, who' of his own  
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs 135  
 But condemnation, ignominy', and shame ?  
 Who for so many benefits receiv'd  
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,  
 And so of all true good himself despoil'd,  
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140  
 That which to God alone of right belongs ;  
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,  
 That who advance his glory, not their own,  
 Them he himself to glory will advance.

So spake the Son of God ; and here again 145  
 Satan

have replac'd the reading of the first edition: most of the later editions have it

And not returning *what*

which spoils the sense of the passage. I had corrected it in my own book before I had seen the first edition, and Mr. Thyer had done the same.

151. *Worth or not worth the seeking,*] In all the editions which I have seen except the first, it is printed

Worth or not worth *their* seeking, but not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagin'd it should be

Worth or not worth *thy* seeking, but the first edition exhibits this reading

Worth or not worth *the* seeking, as Mr. Symphon proposed to read by conjecture.

158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*] Judæa was reduced to

Satan had not to answer, but stood struck  
 With guilt of his own sin, for he himself  
 Insatiable of glory had lost all,  
 Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem, 150  
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass :  
 But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd  
 To sit upon thy father David's throne ;  
 By mother's side thy father ; though thy right  
 Be now in pow'rful hands, that will not part 155  
 Easily from possession won with arms :  
 Judæa now and all the promis'd land,  
 Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,  
 Obeys Tiberius ; nor is always rul'd  
 With temp'rate sway ; oft have they violated 160

The

to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius or Cyrenius then governor of Syria ; and Coponius a Roman of the equestrian order was appointed to govern it under the title of Procurator of Judæa ; our Saviour being then (as Dean Prideaux says) in the 12th year of his age, but according to the vulgar æra, which begins four years later than the true time, it was A. D. 8. *Nor is always rul'd with temp'rate sway* : and indeed the Roman go-

vernment was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa ; and if history be true, he was a most corrupt, and flagitious governor. See particularly Philo de Legatione ad Caium.

160. — *oft have they violated The temple, &c*] As Pompey did particularly with several of his officers, who enter'd not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter,

The temple, oft the law with foul affronts,  
 Abominations rather, as did once  
 Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain  
 Thy right by sitting still or thus retiring?  
 So did not Maccabeus: he indeed 165  
 Retir'd unto the desert, but with arms;  
 And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,  
 That by strong hand his family obtain'd, [usurp'd,  
 Though priests, the crown, and David's throne  
 With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170  
 If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal  
 And duty; zeal and duty are not slow;  
 But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.  
 They themselves rather are occasion best,  
 Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175  
 Thy country from her heathen servitude;  
 So

ter, except the high-priest alone  
 once in a year, on the great day  
 of expiation. And this profana-  
 tion of the temple might well re-  
 mind the author of a former one  
 by Antiochus Epiphanes. See 2  
 Macab. V.

165. *So did not Maccabeus:*] The  
 Tempter had compar'd the profa-  
 nation of the temple by the Ro-  
 mans to that by Antiochus Epi-  
 phanes, king of Syria; and now

he would infer that Jesus was to  
 blame for not vindicating his coun-  
 try against the one, as *Judas Mac-*  
*cabeus* had done against the other.  
 He fled indeed into the wilderness  
 from the persecutions of Antio-  
 chus, but there he took up arms  
 against him, and obtained so many  
 victories over his forces, that he  
 recovered the city and sanctuary  
 out of their hands. and his family  
 was in his brother Jonathan ad-  
 vanced



So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify  
 The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign ;  
 The happier reign the sooner it begins ; 179  
 Reign then ; what canst thou better do the while ?

To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.  
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time,  
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said :  
 If of my reign prophetic Writ hath told,  
 That it shall never end, so when begin 185  
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed,  
 He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.  
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first  
 Be try'd in humble state, and things adverse,  
 By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190  
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,  
 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,  
 Without

vanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovran pontiffs and sovran princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the great : tho' their father Mattathias (the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmonæans) was no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt

at *Modin*, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See 1. Maccab. Josephus, Prideaux &c.

183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath said :* ] Eccles. III. 1. *To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven.*

187. *He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.* ] Alluding to Acts I. 7. *It is not for you to know the*  
 I 4

Without distrust or doubt, that he may know  
 What I can suffer, how obey ? who best  
 Can suffer, best can do ; best reign, who first 195  
 Well hath obey'd ; just trial ere I merit  
 My exaltation without change or end.  
 But what concerns it thee when I begin  
 My everlasting kingdom, why art thou  
 Solicitous, what moves thy inquisition ? 200  
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,  
 And my promotion will be thy destruction ?

To whom the Tempter inly rack'd reply'd.  
 Let that come when it comes ; all hope is lost  
 Of my reception into grace ; what worse ? 205  
 For where no hope is left, is left no fear :  
 If there be worse, the expectation more  
 Of worse torments me than the feeling can.  
 I would

*the times or the seasons, which the  
 Father hath put in his own power.*

De Legg. VI. as Urfinus and Davies have noted.

195. — *best reign, who first  
 Well hath obey'd ;* ] Here probably  
 the author remember'd Cicero. De  
 Legib. III. 2. Qui bene imperat,  
 paruerit aliquando necesse est ; et  
 qui modeste paret, videtur, qui ali-  
 quando imperet, dignus esse. The  
 same sentiment occurs in Aristotle,  
 Polit. III. 4. VII. 14. and in Plato,

206. *For where no hope is left, is  
 left no fear : &c.* ] Milton in  
 this and the five following verses  
 plainly alludes to these lines in that  
 fine soliloquy of Satan's in the be-  
 ginning of the 4th book of Para-  
 dise Lost. ver. 108.

So farewell hope, and with hope  
 farewell fear,

Farewel

I would be at the worst ; worst is my port,  
 My harbour, and my ultimate repose, 210  
 The end I would attain, my final good.  
 My error was my error, and my crime  
 My crime ; whatever for itself condemn'd,  
 And will alike be punish'd, whether thou  
 Reign or reign not ; though to that gentle brow 215  
 Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,  
 From that placid aspect and meek regard,  
 Rather than aggravate my evil state,  
 Would stand between me and thy Father's ire  
 (Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell) 220  
 A shelter and a kind of shading cool  
 Interposition, as a summer's cloud.  
 If I then to the worst that can be haste,  
 Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,

Happiest

Farewel remorse : all good to  
 me is lost ;

Evil be thou my good. —

Thyer.

212. — and my crime

*My crime ; whatever for itself  
 condemn'd,*] This is the point-  
 ing in Milton's own edition, and  
 I conceive the expression to be el-  
 leiptical, and this to be the mean-  
 ing, *My error was my error, and my*

*crime my crime ; whatever* it be, it  
 is *for itself condemn'd*, and *will alike*  
*be punish'd* &c : and I do not see  
 how the passage is emended, or the  
 sense improv'd by placing the se-  
 micolon after *my crime whatever*,  
 as Mr. Symphon prescribes ; or by  
 blotting out the semicolon after  
*crime*, and putting a comma at  
*whatever*, as Mr. Meadowcourt  
 directs.

234. And



Happiest both to thyself and all the world, 225  
 That thou who worthiest art should'st be their king ?  
 Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detain'd  
 Of th' enterprise so hazardous and high ;  
 No wonder, for though in thee be united  
 What of perfection can in man be found, 230  
 Or human nature can receive, consider  
 Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent  
 At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,  
 And once a year Jerusalem, few days 234  
 Short sojourn ; and what thence could'st thou observe ?  
 The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,  
 Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,  
 Best school of best experience, quickest insight  
 In all things that to greatest actions lead.

The

234. *And once a year Jerusalem,*  
 &c] At the feast of the passover,  
 Luke II. 41.

238. — *quickest insight*  
*In all things that to greatest ac-*  
*tions lead.]* In all the editions,  
 and indeed in Milton's own, it is  
 printed

— *quickest in sight*  
 In all things &c ;

but we cannot but think it an error  
 of the writer or printer, and pre-

fer the emendation, which Mr.  
 Theobald, Mr. Meadowcourt, and  
 Mr. Thyer have, unknown to each  
 other, proposed,

*quickest insight &c :*

and it was easy for Milton's amanuensis (his wife most probably) or his printer to mistake the one for the other. Those are the best and most probable emendations, which consist in such small alterations. When other words are substituted,  
 we

Book III. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 123

The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever 240

Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,  
(As he who seeking asses found a kingdom)

Irresolute, unhardy, unadventrous :

But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit

Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245

The monarchies of th' earth, their pomp and state,  
Sufficient introduction to inform

Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,

And regal mysteries, that thou may'st know

How best their opposition to withstand. 250

With that (such pow'r was giv'n him then) he took  
The Son of God up to a mountain high.

It was a mountain at whose verdant feet

A spacious plain out-stretch'd in circuit wide

Lay

we ought to have some better authority than conjecture.

242. *As he who seeking asses found a kingdom*] Saul, who seeking his father's lost asses, came to Samuel, and by him was annointed king. The story is related in 1 Sam. IX.

253. *It was a mountain &c*] All that the Scripture saith, is that the Devil took our Saviour up into a high mountain, Luke IV. 5. an exceeding high mountain, Mat. IV. 8.

and commentators generally suppose it to be one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Jerusalem being surrounded by mountains, or some mountain near the wilderness, near the place where our Saviour was tempted. The Ancients speak little concerning it, but the Moderns conceive it to be the mountain Quarantania, as it is now call'd. That ingenious traveler, Mr. Maundrel in his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem,

Lay pleasant ; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255  
 Th' one winding, th' other strait, and left between  
 Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,  
 Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea :  
 Fertil of corn the glebe, of oil and wine ; 259  
 With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills;  
 Huge cities and high towr'd, that well might seem  
 The seats of mightiest monarchs, and so large

The

salem, mentioning the plain of Jericho, says that (Mar. 29.) " we descended into it, after about " five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we enter'd the " plain, we turned up on the left " hand, and going about one hour " that way, came to the foot of " the Quamtania ; which they " say is the mountain into which " the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him " with that visionary scene of all " the kingdoms and glories of the " world. It is, as St. Matthew " styles it, an exceeding high " mountain, and in its ascent not " only difficult, but dangerous." But this is all conjecture, for the Scripture has not specified any particular place, and the Scripture having not ascertained the place, the poet was at liberty to choose any mountain, that best suited his fancy, for the scene of this vision. And accordingly he supposes the Devil (*such power was given him then*) to carry our Saviour many a

league up to a high mountain, of which he forbears to mention the name out of reverence to the Scripture, which hath likewise mention'd no name ; but by his description of it he must mean mount Taurus, as Mr. Thyer and Mr. Calton have concurred with me in observing ; for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of mount Taurus, which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia, and contains the sources of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Strabo Lib. XI. p. 521. Edit. Amstel. Το δ' ἐν ὑψιτάτῃ (βορριότατῃ) μαλιστα εἶναι τὸ Ταυρὸν ὀρίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας. Ἐνταυθα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐκφυλάμμενοι ποταμοί, καὶ συναντῶντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς γυγὸς κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ὅτα ἐκδιδόντες εἰς τὴν κατὰ Περσας θάλατταν, ὃ τε Εὐφράτης, καὶ ὁ Τίγρις. And the course of the rivers is described in the same manner by Strabo, the Euphrates winding,



The prospect was, that here and there was room  
 For barren desert fountainless and dry. 264  
 To this high mountain top the Tempter brought  
 Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,  
 Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,  
 Cut shorter many a league ; here thou behold'st  
 Assyria and her empire's ancient bounds, 270

Araxes

winding, and the Tigris *strait* and swift as an arrow. Εἰς δὲ μίζων ὁ Εὐφράτης, καὶ πλείων διεξίσι χωρᾶν, σκολιῶν τῷ ῥεύματι, κ. τ. λ. Dionysius, and other ancient Geographers give us much the same description : of the Euphrates, he says ver. 797. Edit. Wells.

Ὅς δὴ τοὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπ' ἑρῆ-  
 Αρμενίου  
 Μάκροσ' ἐπὶ ποτὸν εἰσι, πάλιν δ'  
 αἰκωνᾶς ἐλίζας  
 Ἀρτὴν ἡλίου, κ. τ. λ.

and for the same reason as Lloyd has remarked in his Dictionary, it is called *vagus Euphrates* by Statius, and *flexuosus* by Martianus Capella. Of the Tigris Dionysius says

Τοὺς δὲ μετ' εἰς αὐγὰς, ποταμῶν  
 ὡκίς αἰπάλων  
 Τίγρις εὐρείτης φέρεται, κ. τ. λ.

And indeed we need only look into the map to be satisfied, that the course of these rivers answers to the description here given, and

that afterwards they unite their streams, and fall together into the Persian gulf. And as to the fertility of the country, Milton copies after Dionysius, but contracts his description.

Οὐ μὲν τοὶ κείνης γὰρ νομῆς ἀνοσ-  
 σατο βλάτης,  
 Οὐδ' ὅστις συρίγῃ κερωνυχὰ Πάρα  
 γεραιῶν,  
 Μηλοῖς ἀγροαυλοῖσις ἐφισπύεται· ὕδρ  
 μὲν ὕλην  
 Παντοίῃσι φυτοεργῶσιν ἀθέρια-  
 σατο καρπῶν.  
 Τοίῃ ἐπὶ κείνης ἀροσίς πελάει, ἐν μὲν  
 αἰξίν  
 Ποιῇ, ἐν δὲ νομῇ ευαίθειας,  
 κ. τ. λ.

261. *Huge cities and high tow'r'd,*  
 So also in the L' Allegro,

*Towered cities* please us then.

*Turritæ urbes* is very common amongst the Latin poets. *Thyer.*  
 269. — *here thou behold'st*  
*Assyria and her empire's ancient*  
*bounds,*] A fitter spot could  
 not

Araxes and the Caspian lake, thence on  
 As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,  
 And oft beyond ; to south the Persian bay,  
 And inaccessible th' Arabian drouth :  
 Here Nineveh, of length within her wall  
 Several days journey, built by Ninus old,  
 Of that first golden monarchy the seat,  
 And seat of Salmanassar, whose success

275

Israel

not have been chosen to take a view of the Assyrian empire and its ancient bounds, the river *Araxes* and the *Caspian lake* to the north, the river *Indus* to the east, the river *Euphrates* to the west, and oft beyond, as far as to the Mediterranean, and to the south the *Persian bay* and the deserts of *Arabia*.

275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*] This city was situated on the *Tigris*, of length, as Mr. Sympson says he means of circuit, within her wall several days journey, and according to Diodorus Siculus Lib. II. its circuit was 60 of our miles, and in Jonah III. 3. it is said to be an exceeding great city of three days journey, 20 miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveler: built by *Ninus old*, and after him the city is said to be called *Niniveh* ; of that first golden monarchy the seat, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet styles *golden monarchy*, probably in allusion to the golden head of

the image in *Nebuchadnezzar's* dream of the four empires ; and seat of *Salmanassar*, who in the reign of *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* carried the ten tribes captive into *Assyria* 721 years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called a long captivity.

280. *There Babylon, &c.*] As *Nineveh* was situated on the river *Tigris*, so was *Babylon* on the river *Euphrates*; the wonder of all tongues, for it is reckon'd among the seven wonders of the world ; as ancient as *Nineveh*, for some say it was built by *Belus*, and others by *Semiramis*, the one the father, and the other the wife, of *Ninus* who built *Nineveh* ; but rebuilt by him, whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautify'd, and made one of the wonders of the world by *Nebuchadnezzar*. (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built &c.* Dan. IV. 30.) who twice *Judah* led captive, in the reign of *Jehoiachin* 2 Kings XXIV. and eleven years after

Israel in long captivity still mourns ;  
 There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues, 280  
 As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice  
 Judah and all thy father David's house  
 Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,  
 Till Cyrus set them free ; Persepolis  
 His city there thou seest, and Bactra there ; 285  
 Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,

And

after in the reign of Zedekiah, and laid waste Jerusalem, 2 Kings XXV. in which desolate condition it lay many years, till Cyrus set them free, and restor'd the Jews to their country again. Ezra I. and II.

284. — *Persepolis*

*His city there thou seest, &c.]* The city of Cyrus, if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian empire: and *Bactra there*, the chief city of Bactria, a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness. Virg. Georg. II. 136.

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, di-  
 tissima terra,  
 Nec pulcher Ganges, atque au-  
 ro turbidus Hermus,  
 Laudibus Italix certent, non Bac-  
 tra, neque Indi &c.

*Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, her structure vast there shows, and the ancient historians speak of it as a very large city ; Herodotus compares it to Athens, Lib. I. cap. 98. and Strabo calls it a great

city, μεγάλη πόλις Lib. XI. p. 522. and Polybius says that it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. Lib. X. And *Hecatompylos* her hundred gates, the name signifies a city with an hundred gates, and so the capital city of Parthia was call'd, ἑκατομυλον το τῶν Παρθαίων βασιλείου, Strabo Lib. XI. p. 514. as was likewise Thebes in Egypt for the same reason. *The Sufa*, the Shushan of the holy Scriptures, the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, by *Choaspes*, situated on the river Choaspes, or Eulæus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Sufa form one greater river, sometimes called by one name, sometimes by the other, *amber stream*, see the same expression and the conclusion of the note on Paradise Lost III. 359. *the drink of none but kings*, of which we will



And Hecatompylos her hundred gates ;  
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

The

will say nothing, as it is so fully discuss'd in a note by Mr. Jortin.

289. *The drink of none but kings;*] If we examin it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. 1. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Aufonius, Maximus, Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes (or Eulæus) as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικὸν ὕδωρ, *regia lympha*, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs; and next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. 2. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet so it happens that *Ælian*, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that *Choaspes* might be drunk by the

subjects of the kings of Persia.

ταῦτε ἀλλὰ ἐφοδία εἶπετο τῷ Ξέρξῃ πολυτελείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας περιπληρωμένα, καὶ οὐ καὶ ὕδωρ ἡδύθυτον τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Χοασπύ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ ἐκείνου, ἀδίκῃ τῆς Περσικῆς ἱστορίας, ἐκινῆθη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τις εἶχε ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ Χοασπύ, ἵνα δὲ βασιλεὺς πίνειν. Καὶ εὐρεθὶς τις βραχὺ καὶ σισσηπῶ εἶχον. Ἐπειὰ οὖν ταῦτο ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ εὐεργετήν του δότα νομιστίν, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπελάτο τῇ δίψῃ, καὶ μὴ ἐκείνο εὐρεθὶν. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed, that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found.*

Var. Hist. XII. 40. 3. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find in Athenæus: Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐν Περσείᾳ φησὶν εἶναι καὶ χρυσὸν καλῶμενον ὕδωρ· εἶναι δὲ τούτο λιγάδας

The drink of none but kings ; of later fame

Built by Emathian, or by Parthian hands,

290

The

ἑκάδας ἑξομηκόντα, καὶ μηδὲνα  
πίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἢ μόνον βασιλεὺς  
καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτάτον αὐτῆς τῶν  
παιδῶν· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰναι τις πίνῃ,  
θάνατος ἢ ζῆμια. *Agathocles*  
*says that there is in Persia a wa-*  
*ter called golden, that it is seventy*  
*streams, that none drinks of it ex-*  
*cept the king and his eldest son ;*  
*and that if any other person does,*  
*death is the punishment.* See He-  
rodotus, Edit. Gronov. p. 594.  
where this passage is to be found.

4. It appears not that the golden  
water, and *Choaspes* were the same.  
Eustathius, transcribing from *Agathocles*,  
says : τὸ παρὰ Περσῶν  
χρυσὸν καλούμενον ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ἡ  
Λιβάδης ἑξομηκοντία, ὑπὲρ ὕδατος,  
φασιν, εἶναι ἐτι μὴ βασιλεὺς,  
καὶ ὁ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ πρεσβυ-  
τάτος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰ τις πίνῃ,  
θάνατος ἢ ζῆμια. — Ζητήσιον  
δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ Χοασπιὸν ὕδωρ, ὑπὲρ  
εἴπετε γράτουμεν· ὁ Περσῶν βα-  
σιλεὺς, τοιαύτην ἐπιτίμιον κηρὰ  
ἐφίλειτο. *The Persians had a wa-*  
*ter called golden &c. Quare, whe-*  
*ther the water of Choaspes, which*  
*the Persian king drank in his expe-*  
*ditions, was forbidden to all others*  
*under the same penalty.* Eustathius  
in Homer. *Iliad*. γ. p. 1301. Ed.  
Basil. 5. It may be granted, and  
it is not at all improbable, that  
none besides the king might drink  
of that water of *Choaspes*, which  
was boiled and barrel'd up for

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his use in his military expeditions.

6. Solinus indeed, who is a frivo-  
lous writer, says *Choaspes* ita dul-  
cis est, ut Persici reges quamdiu  
intra ripas Persidis fluit, solis sibi  
ex eo pocula vendicarint. 7. Mil-  
ton, considered as a poet, with  
whose purpose the fabulous suited  
best, is by no means to be blamed  
for what he has advanced ; and  
even the authority of Solinus is  
sufficient to justify him. Milton,  
when he calls *Choaspes* amber stream,  
seems to have had in view the gol-  
den water of *Agathocles* and of his  
transcribers. *Jortin*.

289. — of later fame &c] Ci-  
ties of later date, built by *Emathian*,  
that is Macedonian, the suc-  
cessors of Alexander in Asia, or  
by *Parthian hands*, the great *Seleu-*  
*cia*, built near the river Tigris by  
Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexan-  
der's captains, and called great to  
distinguish it from others of the  
same name ; *Nisibis*, another city  
upon the Tigris, called also *Antiochia*,  
*Antiochia*, quam *Nisibin* vo-  
cant. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Sect.  
16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of  
Armenia, seated upon the river  
Araxes, juxta *Araxem Artaxatn*.  
Plin. Lib. 6. Sect. 10. *Teredon*,  
a city near the Persian bay, below  
the confluence of Euphrates and  
Tigris, *Teredon infra confluentem*  
*Euphratis et Tigris*. Plin. Lib. 6.  
Sect. 32. *Ctesiphon* near *Seleucia*,  
the

K

The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there  
 Artaxata, Terephon, Ctesiphon,  
 Turning with easy eye thou may'st behold.  
 All these the Parthian, now some ages past,  
 By great Arsaces led, who founded first 295  
 That empire, under his dominion holds,  
 From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.  
 And just in time thou com'st to have a view  
 Of his great pow'r ; for now the Parthian king

In

the winter residence of the Parthian Kings. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 743. *All these cities*, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their usual place of residence, are now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Arsaces*, who revolted from Antiochus Theus according to Prideaux 250 years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the *Paradise Lost*. XI. 385—411 : but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other : in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities,

as Nineveh, Babylon &c. in their flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins ; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past.

298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*

*Of his great pow'r ;*] Although Milton in this temptation had no less a scene at his command than all the empires of the world, yet being sensible how incapable his subject was of poetic decoration in many other parts of it, and considering too, very probably, that a geographic description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture



In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300  
 Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild  
 Have wasted Sogdiana ; to her aid  
 He marches now in haste ; see, though from far,  
 His thousands, in what martial equipage 304  
 They issue forth, steel bows, and shafts their arms  
 Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit ;  
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;  
 See how in warlike muster they appear,

In

picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out to their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadors making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of the author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected.

Tbyer.

199. — for now the Parthian king

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host] When Strabo mentions Ctesiphon, Lib. 16. p. 743. which

we quoted before, he says that the Parthian kings made it their winter residence to prevent the incursions of the Scythians ; and he describes it as a place able to contain a vast multitude and all preparations and provisions for them : Ταυτην δ' επωικοντο χειμαδιον οι των Παρθων βασιλεις, φειδομενοι των Σιλευκων, ινα μη καταγαθμεινουντο υπο τη Σκυθικη φυλη και στρατιωτικη δυναμει εν Παρθικη πολις αντι κυμης εστι και το μεγαλυθος τωστων γε πλεον διχομνη, και της κατασκευης κ. τ. λ. and therefore the poet might well suppose the Scythians at this time to have made an incursion into Sogdiana, which was the province next adjoining to them, and the Parthian king to have assembled a great army at Ctesiphon in order to oppose them.

K 2

309. In

In rhombs and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless  
The city gates out-pour'd, light armed troops 311  
In coats of mail and military pride ;  
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,  
Prauncing their riders bore, the flow'r and choice  
Of many provinces from bound to bound ; 315  
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,

And

309. In rhombs and wedges,  
*Rhomb* is a word formed from the  
Greek ῥομβος or Latin *rhombus*, a  
figure of four sides, which being  
converted into one of three makes  
a *wedge*. In re militari etiam trans-  
formatum in triquetrum, cuneum  
seu rostrum vocamus. Rob. Ste-  
phens. In Greek it was called  
ῥομβοειδης φαλαγγξ.

310.—*what numbers numberless*  
A manner of expression this, tho'  
much censur'd in our author, very  
familiar with the best Greek poets.  
Æschyl. Prom. 904.

Απλεμὸς ὅδε γ' ὁ πολέμῳ,

ἀπορῶ

Πορὶμῳ.

Perfæ 682.

ναὶς ἀναὶς ἀναὶς — πολὺς ἀπολὺς.  
Thyer.

313. In mail their horses clad,]  
That this was the practice among  
the Parthians we learn from Justin  
XLI. 2. Munimentum ipsis equis-  
que lorice plumatæ sunt, quæ

utrumque toto corpore tegunt :  
and from Appian De Bell. Parth.  
οἱ δ' ἵπποι καταπλερωμένοι χαλ-  
κοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπασμένοι.

315. *Of many provinces from bound  
to bound ;*] He had mention'd  
before the principal cities of the  
Parthians, and now he recounts  
several of their provinces : *Araco-  
sia* near the river Indus, μέχρι  
τῆς Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταμένη, Strabo  
Lib. 11. p. 516. *Candaor* not *Gan-  
daor* as in some editions, I suppose  
the *Candari* a people of India men-  
tion'd by Pliny. Lib. 6. Sect. 18.  
who are different Father Harduin  
says from the *Gandari*. These  
were provinces to the east, and to  
the north *Margiana* and *Hyrcania*,  
ἅπασαι γὰρ αὗται προσηγορίαι μὲν  
εἰσι τῇ βορρῇ πλεονεχία τῆς Ταυρῆς  
Strabo Lib. 2. p. 72. and mount  
*Caucasus*, and *Iberia*, which is cal-  
led *dark*, as the country abounded  
with forests, Iberi saltuosos locos  
incolentes. Tacitus Annal. Lib. 6.  
*Atropatia* lay west of *Media*, τῇ  
δὲ

And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs  
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales,  
From Atropatia and the neighb'ring plains  
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south  
Of Sufiana, to Balsara's haven.

320

He saw them in their forms of battel rang'd,  
How quick they wheel'd, and fly'ing behind them shot  
Sharp fleet of arrowy show'rs against the face

Of

δε μεγάλη Μηδία προς δυσιν. Strabo Lib. 11. p. 523. *Adiabene* was the western part of Babylonia, απο δε δυσιν Adiabene, and Strabo says was a plain country, της μεν εν Adiabene η πλειστη πεδιας 151, Strabo Lib. 16. p. 745. *Sufiana* was on the south, extending to the Persian gulf, η δε χωρα της θαλαττης καθυκει, Strabo Lib. 15. p. 728. where was also *Balsara's haven*, the same as *Teredon* beforemention'd. And thus he surveys their provinces from bound to bound. And the reader cannot but remark with pleasure how very exact he is in his account of cities and countries, and how well he must have remember'd, and how faithfully he has copied the ancient geographers and historians.

323.—and flying behind them shot  
Sharp fleet of arrowy show'rs] In the first edition it was printed show'r by mistake, and is corrected show'rs among the Errata, but this notwithstanding the faulty reading

is follow'd in all the editions since. *Sharp fleet* &c is a metaphor, as Mr. Richardson has noted, not unlike that in Virgil *Æn.* XI. 610.

—fundunt simul undique tela  
*Crebra nivis ritu.*

And the custom of the Parthians of shooting their arrows behind them and overcoming by flight is so celebrated by historians and poets, and is so well known to every one of the least reading, that it is almost needless to bring any authorities to prove it. επιφειγον γαρ ὅμα βαλλόντες οἱ Παρθοι — και σφωτατος εστιν, αμυνομενης ετι αυξισθαι, και της φηγης αφαιρειν το αισχρον. Appian de Bel. Parth. Virg. Georg. III. 31.

Fidentemque fugâ Parthum ver-  
fisq; sagittis.

Hor. Od. I. XIX. 11.

Et versis animosum equis  
Parthum dicere.

K 3

326. The



Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight ; 325  
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :  
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn  
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,  
 Chariots or elephants indors'd with towers  
 Of archers, nor of lab'ring pioneers 330  
 A multitude with spades and axes arm'd

To

326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :*] One cannot pass over this line without taking notice of the particular beauty and expressiveness of it. The sense contained in it would have served a common romance-writer to have spun out into a paragraph of half a page length. *Thyer.* I believe the reader will agree with me that it greatly exceeds Fairfax. Cant. 1. St. 64.

Imbattered in walls of iron brown.  
 and even Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 601.

— tum late *ferreus* hastis  
 Horret ager.

327. *Nor wanted clouds of foot,*] So we have in Homer *Iliad* IV. 274. *νεφέων ὤμιον*, and in Virgil *Æn.* VII. 793. *nimbus peditum*: but as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, ver. 307.

*All horsemen*, in which fight they  
 most excel ;

nor with what follows to the same purpose ver. 344.

Such and so numerous was their  
*chevairy*.

328. *Cuirassiers all in steel*] By *cuirassiers* are to be understood horsemen armed with cuirasses, which covered the body quite round from the neck to the waist. If what Chambers says in his Dictionary be true, viz. that these sort of troops were not introduc'd till the year 1300, Milton has been guilty of a great anachronism.

*Thyer.* But it appears that the Parthians had such troops, and particularly from the quotation which we lately made from Justin ; *Munimentum ipsis equisque lorice plumatæ sunt, quæ utrumque toto corpore tegunt.* *XLl.* 2.

329. — *elephants indors'd with towers*] That is with towers upon their backs. The reader must know very little of Milton's stile, who knoweth not that it is his method to make use of words in their primary

To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,  
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay  
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;  
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,  
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.  
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,  
When Agrican with all his northern powers

335

Besieg'd

primary and original meaning, rather than according to their common acceptation.

330. — *nor of lab'ring pioneers*  
*A multitude &c.]* Nor wanted the verb in ver. 327, *a multitude with spades and axes arm'd*, very like that in Paradise Lost. l. 675.

— as when bands  
Of pioneers with spade and pick-  
ax arm'd &c.

333. — *or overlay*  
*With bridges rivers proud, as*  
*with a yoke ; ]* Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont. Persæ ver. 71.

Πολυγομφος ὀδισμα  
Ζυγος ἀμφιβαλὺν αὐχεν ποταμ.  
Thyer.

337. *Such forces met not, nor so*  
*wide a camp,*  
*When Agrican &c.]* What Milton here alludes to is related in Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato l. 1. Cant. 10. The number of forces said to be there assembled is in-

credible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand ;

Ventidua centinaia di migliara  
Di caualier hauca quel Rè nel  
campo,  
Cosa non mai udita —

And Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty two thousand. It must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabuloufness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican &c is by far too much disproportion'd to any army, which the Parthian king by any historical evidence

Befieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,  
 The city' of Gallaphrone, from thence to win 340  
 The fairest of her sex Angelica  
 His daughter, fought by many prowest knights,  
 Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.  
 Such and so numerous was their chivalry ;  
 At fight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd, 345  
 And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'st know I seek not to engage  
 Thy virtue, and not every way secure  
 On no slight grounds thy safety ; hear, and mark  
 To what end I have brought thee hither and shown  
 All this fair fight : thy kingdom though foretold 351  
 By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou  
 Endeavor, as thy father David did,  
 Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still  
 In all things, and all men, supposes means, 355  
 Without

evidence could be supposed to bring  
 into the field. *Thyer.*

341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica &c]* This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had be-

gun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. *prowest* and *Paynim*. *Thyer.*

366.—*and captive lead away her kings*

*Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus bound,]* Here seems to be a slip of memory in our author. The Parthians



Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.  
 But say thou wert possess'd of David's throne  
 By free consent of all, none opposit,  
 Samaritan or Jew ; how could'st thou hope  
 Long to enjoy it quiet and secure, 360  
 Between two such inclosing enemies  
 Roman and Parthian ? therefore one of these  
 Thou must make sure thy own, the Parthian first  
 By my advice, as nearer, and of late  
 Found able by invasion to annoy 365  
 Thy country', and captive lead away her kings  
 Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus bound,  
 Maugre the Roman : it shall be my task  
 To render thee the Parthian at dispose ; 369  
 Choose which thou wilt by conquest or by league.  
 By him thou shalt regain, without him not,  
 That which alone can truly reinstall thee

In

thians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past 70 years of age, so that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus* : but instead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards depriv'd of his kingdom

by the Romans. See *Josephus Antiq. Lib. 14. cap. 13. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. cap. 13.* But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardon'd among so many excellences.

376. In

In David's royal seat, his true successor,  
 Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes  
 Whose offspring in his territory yet serve, 375  
 In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd ;  
 Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost  
 Thus long from Israel, serving as of old  
 Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,  
 This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380  
 These if from servitude thou shalt restore  
 To their inheritance, then, nor till then,  
 Thou on the throne of David in full glory,  
 From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond  
 Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear. 385  
 To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.  
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,  
 And fragil arms, much instrument of war  
 Long

376. *In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd ;*] These were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser king of Assyria, carried captive unto Assyria, and put them in Halab and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. 2 Kings XVIII. 11. which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians.

384. *From Egypt to Euphrates]*

That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent : for thus the land was promis'd to Abraham, Gen. XV. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates :* and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus describ'd, 1 Kings IV. 21. *And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of*

Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,  
 Before mine eyes thou' hast set ; and in my ear 390  
 Vented much policy, and projects deep  
 Of enemies, of aids, battels and leagues,  
 Plausible to the world, to me worth nought.  
 Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else  
 Will unpredict and fail me of the throne : 395  
 My time I told thee (and that time for thee  
 Were better farthest off ) is not yet come ;  
 When that comes, think not thou to find me slack  
 On my part ought endeavoring, or to need  
 Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome 400  
 Luggage of war there shown me, argument  
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.  
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes  
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign

David's

*of the Philistines, and unto the border  
 of Egypt.*

394. — prediction else  
*Will unpredict]* A manner of  
 speaking this, rather too light and  
 familiar for the dignity of the  
 speaker. *Thyer.*

396. *My time—is not yet come ; ]*  
 Agreeable to our Saviour's man-  
 ner of speaking in the Gospel.  
 John H. 4. *Mine hour is not yet*

*come. VII. 6. My time is not yet  
 come.*

401 — argument  
*Of human weakness rather than  
 of strength.]* It is a proof of  
 human weakness, as it shows that  
 man is obliged to depend upon  
 something extrinsic to himself,  
 whether he would attack his ene-  
 my or defend himself. It alludes  
 to the common observation, that  
 nature



David's true heir, and his full scepter sway 405  
 To just extent over all Israel's sons ;  
 But whence to thee this zeal, where was it then  
 For Israel, or for David, or his throne,  
 When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride  
 Of numb'ring Israel, which cost the lives 410  
 Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites  
 By three days pestilence ? such was thy zeal  
 To Israel then, the same that now to me.  
 As for those captive tribes, themselves were they  
 Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415  
 From God to worship calves, the deities

Of

nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defense except man. See Anacreon's ode on this thought. *Thyer.*

409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter &c.]* Alluding to 1 Chron. XXI. 1. *And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.* Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word *Satan*, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil : and he expresses it very properly by *the pride of numb'ring Israel* ; for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offense to consist in pride and va-

nity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence, of which he chose the latter. *So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men, ver. 14.*

414. *As for those captive tribes, &c.]* The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. *They fell off from God to worship calves, the golden calves which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel*

Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,  
 And all th' idolatries of Heathen round,  
 Besides their other worse than heath'nish crimes;  
 Nor in the land of their captivity 420  
 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought  
 The God of their forefathers; but so dy'd  
 Impenitent, and left a race behind  
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce  
 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain, 425  
 And God with idols in their worship join'd.  
 Should I of these the liberty regard,  
 Who freed as to their ancient patrimony,  
 Unhumbled,

thel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*, for it is probable (as some learned men have conjectured) that Jeroboam having conversed with the Egyptians set up these two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Ashtaroth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, 1 Kings XVI. 32. and at the same time probably was introduced the worship of *Ashtaroth*, the Goddess of the Zidonians, 1 Kings XI 5. For Jezebel,

Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Etibbaal king of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XVI. 31. And by *the prophets of the groves* 1 Kings XVIII. 19. Mr. Selden understands the prophets of *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte*: and *the groves under every green tree* 2 Kings XVII. 10. should be translated *Ashtaroth* under every green tree. See Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. II. cap. 2. But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing impenitent in their captivity, see 2 Kings XVII. and the prophets in several places.

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,  
 Headlong would follow'; and to their Gods perhaps  
 Of Bethel and of Dan? no, let them serve 431  
 Their enemies, who serve idols with God.  
 Yet he at length, time to himself best known,  
 Remembring Abraham, by some wondrous call  
 May bring them back repentant and sincere, 435  
 And at their passing cleave th' Assyrian flood,  
 While

430. *Headlong would follow; and  
 to their Gods perhaps*

*Of Bethel and of Dan? ]* There is some difficulty and obscurity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offer'd to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Symphon would read *Headlong would fall off and Ec*, or *Headlong would fall, bow and i. e. bowing the A. Sax. participle*. But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he? There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense, can never be accounted for by an ellipse, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects, that by some ill accident or other a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve for a commentary at least, to explain the sense, though it can't be allowed for an emendation.

*Their fathers in their old iniquities  
 Headlong would follow; &c.*

Or is not the construction thus, *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps &c?*

431. — no, let them serve  
*Their enemies, who serve idols with  
 God.]* This is agreeable to God's constant dealing with the Jewish nation as recorded in the old Testament. *Thyer.*

436. *And at their passing cleave  
 th' Assyrian flood, &c.]* There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *th' Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to Rev. XVI. 12. *And the sixth Angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that*  
*thé*



While to their native land with joy they haste,  
 As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,  
 When to the promis'd land their fathers pass'd;  
 To his due time and providence I leave them. 440

So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend  
 Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.  
 So fares it when with truth falshood contends.

*the way of the kings of the east might be prepared: and to Isa. XI. 15, 16. And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod: And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.*

The end of the Third Book.



**THE**  
**FOURTH BOOK**  
**OF**  
**PARADISE REGAIN'D.**

**VOL. I.**

**L**





## PARADISE REGAIN'D.

## B O O K IV.

**P**Erplex'd and troubled at his bad success  
 The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,  
 Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope  
 So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric  
 That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve, 5  
 So little here, nay lost; but Eve was Eve,  
 This far his over-match, who self-deceiv'd  
 And rash, beforehand had no better weigh'd  
 The strength he was to cope with, or his own :  
 But as a man who had been matchless held 10  
 In

7. *This far his overmatch, who self-deceiv'd &c.* ] An usual construction in Milton, *This far an over-match* for him, *who self-deceiv'd and rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd &c.* Neither is this inconsistent, as Mr. Thyer conceives it to be, with what Satan had declared in Book II. 131.

Have found him, view'd him,  
 tasted him, but find  
 Far other labor to be undergone  
 &c.

He had made some trials of his strength, but had not sufficiently considered it *before-hand*; he had weigh'd it, but should have weigh'd it *better*; if he had been fully apprised whom he was contending with, he would have ceased from the contention.

10. *But as a man &c.* ] It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes, as the reader may see particularly in the second book of the Iliad before the catalogue of ships  
 L 2

In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,  
 To salve his credit, and for very spite,  
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,  
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;  
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, 15  
 About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,  
 Beat off, returns as oft with humming found;  
 Or surging waves against a solid rock,

Though

ships and warriors: and our author here follows his example, and presents us, as I may say, with a *string* of similitudes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired: but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here in Milton they rise in my opinion, and improve one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer, who has partly made the same observations with me, says that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of the two foregoing comparisons, rises up here to his usual sublimity, and presents to the reader's mind an

image, which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses both the unmov'd steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan.

15. *Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, &c]* The comparison is very just, and also in the manner of Homer. Iliad. XVI. 641.

Οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὀμίλει, ὥς  
 ὅτε μυῖαι  
 Σταθμῷ ἐν βρομίῳσι περιγλαῦγας  
 κατὰ πύλλας  
 Ὄρη ἐν εἰαρίῳ, ὅτε τε γλαῦρος  
 ἀστυὰ δέουσι.

Illi vero assidue circa mortuum  
 versabantur, ut quum muscæ  
 In caula susurrant lacte plenas  
 ad mulctras  
 Tempore in verno, quando lac  
 vasa rigat.

Iliad. XVII. 570.

Καὶ οἱ μυῖαι θάσσονται ἐν γηθεσίῳ  
 ἐν ἡμέρῃ,

Ἦτα



Though all to shivers dash'd, th' assault renew,  
 Vain batt'ry, and in froth or bubbles end ; 20  
 So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse  
 Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,  
 Yet gives not o'er though desp'rate of success,  
 And his vain importunity pursues.  
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25  
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold

Another

Ἦτε καὶ ἐργασίην μάλα πρὸς  
 χροῖ ἀνδρείου,  
 Ἰσχυρὰ δακτύλῳ.

Et ei muscæ audaciam pectoribus  
 immisit,

Quæ licet abacta crebro à cor-  
 pore humano,

Appetit mordere. *Jortin.*

This simile is very much in the same taste with one in the second Iliad of Homer, where he compares the Greek army to *swarms of flies buzzing about the shepherd's milk pail in the spring*, and seems liable to the same objection which is made to that, of being too low for the grandeur of the subject. It must however be allow'd, that nothing could better express the teasing ceaseless importunity of the Tempter than this does. Mr. Pope in his note on this passage of Homer observes that *Milton who was a close imitator of him, has often copied him in these humble comparisons, and instances those lines in the end*

of the sixth book of his Paradise Lost, where the rebel Angels thunder-struck by the Messiah are compared to *a herd of goats or timorous flock together throng'd*. The observation is just, but very far in my opinion from being verified by the passage produc'd. No image of terror or consternation could be too low for that exhausted spiritless condition, in which those vanquish'd Angels must at that instant be supposed to be, and that abject timorousness imputed to them. instead of lessening the dignity of the description rather adds to it, by exciting in the reader's mind a greater idea of the tremendous majesty of the Son of God. This comparison of the flies now before us would have answer'd his purpose much better. *Thyer.*

I cannot entirely agree with my ingenious friend ; for Mr. Pope is discouraging there of low images, which are preceded by others of a lofty strain, and on that account

Another plain, long but in breadth not wide,  
 Wash'd by the southern sea, and on the north  
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills, 29  
 That screen'd the fruits of th' earth and seats of men  
 From cold Septentrion blasts, thence in the midst  
 Divided by a river, of whose banks  
 On each side an imperial city stood,  
 With tow'rs and temples proudly elevate  
 On sev'n small hills, with palaces adorn'd, 35  
 Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,  
 Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,  
 Gardens and groves presented to his eyes,  
 Above the highth of mountains interpos'd :  
 By what strange parallax or optic skill 40  
 Of vision multiply'd through air, or glass  
 Of

this comparison, however suitable  
 in other respects, would not have  
 been so proper for his purpose.

27. *Another plain, &c* ] The  
 learned reader need not be in-  
 formed, that the country here  
 meant is Italy. which indeed is  
 long but not broad, and is wash'd  
 by the Mediterranean on the south,  
 and screen'd by the Alps on the  
 north, and divided in the midst by  
 the river Tiber.

35. *On sev'n small hills,* ] Virgil  
 Georg. II. 535.

Septemque una sibi muro cir-  
 cumdedit arces.

40. *By what strange parallax or  
 optic skill &c* ] The learned  
 have been very idly busy in con-  
 triving the manner in which Satan  
 showed to our Saviour all the king-  
 doms of the world Some sup-  
 pose it was done by vision ; others  
 by

Of telescope, were curious to inquire :  
And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.

The city which thou see'st no other deem  
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth  
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd 46  
Of nations ; there the capitol thou see'st  
Above the rest lifting his stately head  
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel  
Impregnable, and there mount Palatine, 50  
Th' imperial palace, compass huge, and high  
The structure, skill of noblest architects,  
With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,  
Turrets and terraces, and glitt'ring spires:  
Many a fair edifice besides, more like 55  
Houses of Gods, (so well I have dispos'd

My

by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words : Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem

objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuò reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi. In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius in his *Curæ philologicæ* in SS. Evangelia fathers this whim upon him : Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis opticae se recipiunt. Vid. Wolf. in Matt. IV. 8. *Thyer.*



My aery microscope) thou may'st behold  
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,  
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers  
 In cedar, marble, ivory or gold.

60

Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see  
 What conflux issuing forth, or entring in,  
 Pretors, proconsuls to their provinces  
 Hast'ing, or on return, in robes of state ;

Lictors

57. *My aery microscope*] He had called it *telescope* before ver. 42. here *microscope*, being altogether uncertain what sort of glass it was, or how this vision was performed : but *microscope* seems to be the more proper word here, as here our Saviour is presented with a view of minuter objects.

58. *Outside and inside both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could see clearly and distinctly from the moon cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors*, and *within* where they thought themselves most secret. κατακυψας γην ες την γην, ιδων σαφως τας πολεις, της αιθρωπης, τα γινόμενα, και ε τα εν υπαιθρω μοιαι, αλλα και υποστα οικoi ιερατων, διομνοι λαιθαιεν. Luciani Op. Vol. 2. p. 197. Ed. Grav.

Calton.

59. — *the hand of fam'd artificers*] The *sandywork*, as in Virg. *Æn.* l. 455.

*Artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem*  
 Miratur.

65. — *turns of horse*] Troops of horse. A word coined from the Latin *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* V. 560. *Equitum turmæ*.

68. — *on the Appian road, Or on th' Æmilian,*] The *Appian* road from Rome led towards the south of Italy and the *Æmilian* towards the north ; and the nations on the *Appian* road are included in ver. 69—76 those on the *Æmilian* in ver. 77—79.

69. — *some from farthest south, Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,*

*Meroë Nilotic ile,*] *Syene farthest south* How can that be ? when *Meroë* mention'd in the next line (to say nothing of other places) was farther south. Milton knew it, and thought of it too, as appears from his saying,

— *where*

Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their pow'r, 65  
 Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :  
 Or embassies from regions far remote  
 In various habits on the Appian road,  
 Or on th' Emilian, some from farthest south,  
 Syene', and where the shadow both way falls, 70  
 Meroe Nilotic ile, and more to west,  
 The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea ;

From

— *where the shadow both way  
 falls,  
 Meroe Nilotic ile.*

*Syene* being situate under the tropic of Cancer, the shadow falls there always one way, except at the summer solstice, when the sun is vertical, and then at noon the shadow falls no way :

— *umbras nusquam flectente  
 Syene. Lucan. II. 587.*

But in *Meroe* the shadow falls both ways at different times of the year, and therefore *Meroe* must be farther south than *Syene*, and nearer the equator. To this I say that Milton had in view what he had read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it ; and to that he alludes. Or it may be said, that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi*, *ultimi*, *farthest*, *remotest*, to any

people that lived a great way off, and that possibly Milton intended that *farthest south* should be so applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe*.

*Jortin.*  
 He first mentions places in *Africa* ; *Syene*, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia ; Ditionis Ægypti esse incipit a fine Æthiopix Syene : Plin. Lib. 5. Sect. 10. *Meroe*, an island and city of Ethiopia in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotic ile*, *where the shadow both way falls* ; Rursus in *Meroe* (insula hæc caputque gentis Æthiopum — in amne Nilo habitatur) bis anno absumi umbras ; Plin. Lib. 2. Sect. 75. *The realm of Bocchus*, Mauritania. Then *African* nations, among these the *golden Chersonese*, Malacca the most southern promontory of the East Indies, see *Paradise Lost* XI. 392. and *utmost Indian ile Tapprobane*, and therefore Pliny says it is extra orbem a natura relegata ; Lib. 6. Sect. 24. Then the *European* nations as far as to the *Tauric pool*,

From th' Asian kings and Parthian among these,  
 From India and the golden Chersonese,  
 And utmost Indian ile Taprobane, 75  
 Dusk faces with white filken turbants wreath'd ;  
 From Gallia, Gades, and the British west,  
 Germans and Scythians, and Sarmatians north  
 Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.  
 All nations now to Rome obedience pay, 80  
 To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain  
 In ample territory, wealth and power,  
 Civility of manners, arts and arms,  
 And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer  
 Before the Parthian ; these two thrones except, 85  
 The rest are barb'rous, and scarce worth the fight,  
 Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd ;

These

*pool*, that is the palus Mæotis ; Lacus ipse Mæotis. Tanain amnem ex Riphæis montibus defluentem accipiens, novissimum inter Europam Asiamque finem, &c. Plin. Lib. 4. Sect. 24.

84. — *thou justly may'st prefer Before the Parthians ;* ] The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, Ill. 363.

— the Parthian first  
 By my advice :

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light.

90. *This emp'ror &c]* This account of the emperor Tiberius retiring from Rome to the island Capreae, and there enjoying his horrid lusts in private, and in the mean while committing the government to his wicked favorite and minister Sejanus, together with the



These having shown thee, I have shown thee all  
 The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.  
 This emp'ror hath no son, and now is old, 90  
 Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd  
 To Capreæ an iland small but strong  
 On the Campanian shore, with purpose there  
 His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,  
 Committing to a wicked favorite 95  
 All public cares, and yet of him suspicious,  
 Hated of all, and hating ; with what ease,  
 Indued with regal virtues as thou art,  
 Appearing, and beginning noble deeds, 99  
 Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne  
 Now made a stye, and in his place ascending  
 A victor people free from servile yoke ?

And

the character of this emperor, is perfectly agreeable to the Roman histories, and particularly those of Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this *monster* (as our author calls him) in such colors as he deserved to be described in to posterity.

101. —and in his place ascending  
*A victor people free &c*] There should be no comma after *victor* according to the author's own correction ; but yet I think all the

editors have preserved the first mistaken pointing,

— and in his place ascending  
 A victor, people free from servile yoke :

For the meaning is not that our Saviour *ascending a victor might free* &c, but *ascending might free a victor people*, as the Romans are afterwards called ver. 132.

That people victor once &c.

115. On

And with my help thou may'st ; to me the power  
Is giv'n, and by that right I give it thee.

Aim therefore at no less than all the world, 105

Aim at the high'est, without the high'est attain'd

Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,

On David's throne, be prophesy'd what will.

To whom the Son of God unmov'd reply'd.

Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show 110

Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,

More than of arms before, allure mine eye,

Much less my mind ; though thou should'st add to tell

Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts

On citron tables or Atlantic stone, 115

(For I have also heard, perhaps have read)

Their

115. *On citron tables or Atlantic stone,*] Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully vein'd and spotted. See his account of them Lib. 13. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantic stone* or marble was so celebrated : the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mention'd in Roman authors.

117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne, Chios and Crete,*] The three former were Italian, and the two lat-

ter were Greek wines, much admired and commended by the Ancients.

119. *Crystal and myrrhine cups imboss'd with gems And studs of pearl,*] Crystal and myrrhine cups are often join'd together by ancient authors. *Murrhina et cristallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus precium faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim totum perire.* Plin. Lib. 33. Sect. 2. We see that Pliny reckons myrrhine cups among fossils ; Scaliger,

Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,  
 Chios and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,  
 Cryſtal and myrrhine cups imboſ'd with gems  
 And ſtuds of pearl, to me ſhould'ſt tell who thirſt  
 And hunger ſtill: then embaffies thou ſhow'ſt 121  
 From nations far and nigh; what honor that,  
 But tedious waſte of time to fit and hear  
 So many hollow complements and lies,  
 Outlandiſh flatt'ries? then proceed'ſt to talk 125  
 Of th' emperor, how eaſily ſubdued,  
 How gloriously; I ſhall, thou ſay'ſt expel  
 A brutiſh monſter: what if I withal  
 Expel a Devil who firſt made him ſuch?  
 Let his tormenter conſcience find him out? 130

For

liger, Salmaſius and others contend  
 from this verſe of Propertius IV.  
 V. 26.

Murrhæque in Parthis pocula  
 cocta focis,

that they were like our porcelane:  
 but if they were ſo very fragil as  
 they are repreſented to be, it is  
 not eaſy to conceive how they  
 could be *imboſ'd with gems and ſtuds  
 of pearl*. I ſuppoſe our author af-  
 ferted it from the words immedi-  
 ately following in Pliny. *Nec hoc  
 fuit fatiſ: turba gemmarum pota-  
 mus, et ſmaragdus teximus calices:*

*ac temulentiaꝝ cauſa tenere Indiam  
 iuvat: et aurum jam accessio eſt.*  
 Or perhaps the words *imboſ'd with  
 gems &c* refer only to gold firſt men-  
 tion'd, which is no unuſual con-  
 ſtruction. *They quaff in gold im-  
 boſ'd with gems and ſtuds of pearl.*

130. *Let his tormenter conſcience  
 find him out;* ] Milton had in  
 view what Tacitus and Suetonius  
 have related. Tacitus Ann. VI. 6.  
*Inſigne viſum eſt earum Cæſaris  
 litterarum initium; nam his verbis  
 exorſus eſt: Quid ſcribam vobis  
 P. C. aut quomodo ſcribam, aut quid  
 omnino non ſcribam hoc tempore? Dii*

me



For him I was not sent, nor yet to free  
 That people victor once, now vile and base,  
 Deservedly made vassal, who once just,  
 Frugal, and mild, and temp'rate, conquer'd well,  
 But govern ill the nations under yoke, 135  
 Peeling their provinces, exhausted all  
 By lust and rapin; first ambitious grown  
 Of triumph, that insulting vanity;  
 Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd  
 Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd, 140  
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,  
 And

*me Deaque pejus perdant quam perire  
 quotidie sentio, si scio. Adeo faci-  
 nora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque  
 in supplicium verterant. Suetonius  
 Tiber. 67. Postremo semet  
 ipse pertæsus talis epistolæ princi-  
 pio tantum non summam malorum  
 suorum professus est: Quid scribam  
 &c, where perhaps it should be,  
 tali epistolæ principio. Fortin.*

140. *Of fighting beasts, and men  
 to beasts expos'd.*] The fighting beasts  
 are a poor instance of the Roman  
 cruelty in their sports, in compa-  
 rison of the gladiators, who might  
 have been introduced so naturally,  
 and easily here, only by putting  
 the word gladiators in place of the  
 other two, that one may very well  
 be surpris'd at the poet's omitting  
 them. See Seneca's 7th epistle.

Calton.

145. *Or could of inward slaves  
 make outward free?*] This  
 noble sentiment Milton explains  
 more fully, and expresses more dif-  
 fusively in his Paradise Lost. XII. 90.

— Therefore since he permits  
 Within himself unworthy pow'rs  
 to reign  
 Over free reason, God<sup>d</sup> in judg-  
 ment just  
 Subjects him from without to vio-  
 lent lords; &c. to ver. 101.

So also again in his 12th Sonnet,  
 Licence they mean when they  
 cry Liberty;  
 For who loves that must first be  
 wise and good.

No one had ever more refin'd no-  
 tions of true liberty than Milton,  
 and I have often thought that there  
 never

And from the daily scene effeminate.

What wise and valiant man would seek to free  
These thus degenerate, by themselves inflav'd,  
Or could of inward slaves make outward free ? 145

Know therefore when my season comes to fit  
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree  
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,  
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash

All monarchies besides throughout the world, 150  
And of my kingdom there shall be no end :  
Means there shall be to this, but what the means,

Is

never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he with a head so clear, and a heart I really believe perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant and profess'd trampler upon the liberties of his country as Cromwell was. *Tbyer.*

146. *Know therefore when my season comes to fit &c*] A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes for me to sit on David's throne, *it shall be like a tree &c.* For his season to be like a tree says Mr. Symphon is strange language, and therefore reads *I shall be like a tree*: but it refers to *throne*. The throne of David shall then *be like*

*a tree &c*; alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof, Matt. XIII. 32. and to (what that parable also respects) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree whose bigness reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth, Dan. IV. 11. Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt. *Or as a stone &c*; alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Dan. II. 44. *And of my kingdom there shall be no end*: the very words of Luke I. 33. with only the necessary change of the

Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter impudent reply'd.

I see all offers made by me how slight 155

Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st :

Nothing will please the difficult and nice,

Or nothing more than still to contradict :

On th' other side know also thou, that I

On what I offer set as high esteem, 160

Nor what I part with mean to give for nought ;

All these which in a moment thou behold'st,

The kingdoms of the world to thee I give ;

For giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,

No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else, 165

On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,

And worship me as thy superior lord,

Easily done, and hold them all of me ;

For what can less so great a gift deserve ?

Whom

the person ; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

157. *Nothing will please the difficult and nice,*] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympson say that perhaps we should read

— *thee* difficult and nice :

but I think the *ictus* falls better in the common reading, and the

sentence is better as a general observation.

166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down, &c*] In my opinion (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the same observation) there is not any thing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure as the awkward and preposterous introduction



Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 161

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.  
 I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less, 171  
 Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter  
 Th' abominable terms, impious condition ;  
 But I indure the time, till which expir'd,  
 Thou hast permission on me. It is written 175  
 'The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship  
 The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve ;  
 And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound  
 To worship thee accurs'd, now more accurs'd  
 For this attempt bolder than that on Eve, 180  
 And more blasphemous ? which expect to rue.  
 The kingdoms of the world to thee were given,  
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd ;  
 Other donation none thou canst produce :  
 If giv'n, by whom but by the king of kings, 185  
 God over all supreme ? if giv'n to thee,

By

trodition of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offer'd the gifts ; as he doth likewise in Scripture : but after his gifts had been absolutely refus'd, to what purpose was it to propose the *impious condition* ? Could he imagin that

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our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon *th' abominable terms* of falling down and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogg'd with any terms at all ? Well might the author say that Satan *impudent reply'd* : but I think that doth not entirely solve the objection.

M

191. To

By thee how fairly is the giver now  
 Repaid ? But gratitude in thee is lost  
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,  
 As offer them to me the Son of God, 190  
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,  
 That I fall down and worship thee as God ?  
 Get thee behind me ; plain thou now appear'st  
 That evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.

To whom the Fiend with fear abash'd reply'd.  
 Be not so fore offended, Son of God, 196  
 Though sons of God both Angels are and Men,  
 If I to try whether in higher sort  
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd  
 What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200  
 Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth  
 Nations besides from all the quarter'd winds,  
 God of this world invok'd and world beneath ;  
 Who

191. *To me my own,*] The right, which the Demon pretends to, over the kingdoms of the world, is by gift ; but Christ claims them as *his own* by nature, and by virtue of his *Sonship*. Ὁ γὰρ ὡς τὸ Θεοῦ, ὁμοίᾳ αὐτῷ αἰσιν ὁμοίᾳ δὲ αὐτῷ, παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ κυρὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς. For being the Son of God, he must of course be like

him whose son he is ; and being like him, it necessarily follows, that he is lord and king. S. Athanas. Or. 3. contra Arianos. Op. Vol. I. p. 387. Edit. Col. Calton.

191. — *abhorred pact,*] He uses the word *pact*, as it is the technical term for the contracts of forcerers with the Devil. Warburton.

Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold  
 To me so fatal, me it most concerns. 205  
 The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,  
 Rather more honor left and more esteem ;  
 Me nought advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.  
 Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,  
 The kingdoms of this world ; I shall no more 210  
 Advise thee ; gain them as thou canst, or not.  
 And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd  
 Than to a worldly crown, addicted more  
 To contemplation and profound dispute,  
 As by that early action may be judg'd, 215  
 When slipping from thy mother's eye thou went'st  
 Alone into the temple, there wast found  
 Amongst the gravest Rabbies disputant  
 On points and questions fitting Moses chair, 219  
 Teaching not taught ; the childhood shows the man,  
 As

203. *God of this world invoc'd*] Milton pursues the same notion, which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fall'n Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the Heathens of worshipping Devils for Deities. *Thyer.*

217.— *there wast found*] In Milton's own edition and in most of the following ones it was printed by mistake *was found* ; but the syntax plainly requires *wast*, as there is *thou went'st* in the verse preceding.

219.— *fitting Moses chair,*] *Moses chair* was the chair, in which the doctors sitting expounded the law  
 M 2



As morning shows the day. Be famous then  
 By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,  
 So let extend thy mind o'er all the world  
 In knowledge, all things in it comprehend:  
 All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses law, 225  
 The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;  
 The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach  
 To admiration, led by nature's light;  
 And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,

Ruling

law either publicly to the people, or privately to their disciples. *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses chair, εν τῇ Μωϋσῆος καθίδρας.* Mat. XXIII. 2.

221. — Be famous then

By wisdom;] We are now come to the last temptation, properly so called; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council. II. 225.

Therefore with manlier objects  
 we must try

His constancy, with such as have  
 more show

Of worth, of honor, glory, and  
 popular praise.

The gradation also in the several allurements propos'd is very fine; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality compris'd in so short a compass. Never were the arguments for vice dress'd up

in more delusive colors, nor were they ever answer'd with more solidity of thought or acuteness of reasoning. *Thyer.*

230. *Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st;*] Alluding to those charming lines I. 221.

Yet held it more humane, more  
 heav'nly first

By willing words to conquer  
 willing hearts,

And make persuasion do the  
 work of fear.

But Satan did not hear this; it was part of our Saviour's self-converie and private meditation.

236. — *this specular mount*] This mount of speculation, as in *Paradise Lost*. XII. 588, where see the note.

237. *Westward, much nearer by south-west,*] This corresponds exactly to our Saviour's suppos'd situation upon mount Taurus. The following

Book IV. PARADISE REGAIN'D. 165

Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st; 230

Without their learning how wilt thou with them,

Or they with thee hold conversation meet?

How wilt thou reason with them, how refute

Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?

Error by his own arms is best evinc'd. 235

Look once more e'er we leave this specular mount

Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold

Where on the Ægean shore a city stands

Built

following description of Athens and its learning is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favorable occasion, and like the sun from under a cloud bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, tho' not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*. *Thyer.*

238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands*] So Milton caused this verse to be printed, whereby it appears that he would have the word *Ægean* pronounced with the accent upon the first syllable as in *Paradise Lost*. l. 746. and as Fairfax often uses it, as was there remarked. *Built nobly*, and Homer in his time calls it *a well built city*, εὐκτίμενον πολιεῖθεον. *Iliad*. II. 546 *pure the air, and light the soil*, Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light and barren,

and the air sharp and pure, and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits. τὴν καθαρίαν τὴν ὀρεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδύσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτης αἰθέρας οἰσιν. Plato in *Timæo* p. 24. Vol. 3. Edit. Serr. Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici. Cicero de Fato. 4. *Athens the eye of Greece*, and so Demosthenes somewhere calls it ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος, but I cannot at present recollect the place; and in Justin it is called one of the two eyes of Greece, Sparta being the other, Lib. 5. cap. 8; and Catullus calls Sirmio the eye of islands XXXII. 1.

Peninsularum Sirmio, insularum-  
que  
Ocelle:

but the metaphor is more properly applied to Athens than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning.

Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,  
 Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240  
 And eloquence, native to famous wits  
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,  
 City' or suburban, studious walks and shades ;

See

239. — *pure the air, and light the soil,*] This is from Dio Chrysostom. See Spanheim on Callimachus. p. 444. De Attica cætoroquin dicit Dio Chrysost. Orat. 7. p. 87. εἰσι γὰρ τῆς χώρας αἰθαίαν, καὶ τὸν αἶρα λεῖρον, *esse enim regionem tenui solo, ac levem aerem,* prout una voce λεπτογίως eadem Attica, post Thucydidem nempe pag. 2. a Galeno dicitur, περὶ τριπτ. cap. 7. Aeris autem λεπτογίως eadem tribuit Aristides, Serm. Sacr. 6. p. 642. Athens was built between two small rivers Cephissus and Ilissus ; and hence it is call'd, in the Medea of Euripides, ἱερὸν ποταμῶν πόλις. See the chorus at the end of the 3d Act. The effect of these waters upon the air is very poetically represented in the same beautiful chorus.

Καλλιπὰς τ' ἐπὶ Κηφισῶν ῥοαῖς  
 Τὰν Κυπρίν κληῖζουσιν ἀφυ-  
 σαμμένας χώραν καταπνεύσαι  
 Μυτρίας ἀνέμων  
 Ἠδυνίους αὐράς.

Pulchrisflueque ad Cephissi fluenta  
 Venerem ferunt [ex Cephiso]  
 exhauri-  
 entem, regionem perflasse,

Mediocres ventorum  
 Dulce spirantes auras. Calton.

244. See there the olive grove of  
 Academe,

[Plato's retirement, &c.] Επαυ-  
 θῶν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας, διατρίβειν ἐν Α-  
 καδημίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνασίον, προ-  
 αΐμιον ἀλσώδες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώ-  
 ονομασθέν Ακαδήμην, καθὰ καὶ Εὐ-  
 πόλις ἐν Ἀγγρατευτοῖς φησιν,

Εν εὐσκίῳ δερμοσίν Ακαδήμην θεῖ.

— καὶ σταθῇ ἐν τῇ Ακαδημίᾳ,  
 εἶδρα τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διέτριβε  
 φιλοσοφῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Ακαδημαϊκὴ  
 προσεγορεύετο ἡ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἵρεσις.  
 Being return'd to Athens from his  
 journey to Egypt, he settled him-  
 self in the Academy, a gymnasium  
 or place of exercise in the suburbs  
 of that city. beset with woods,  
 taking name from Academus, one  
 of the hercs, as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus shady walks.

— and he was buried in the Aca-  
 demy, where he continued most  
 of his time teaching philosophy,  
 whence the sect which sprung from  
 him was called Academic. See  
 Diogenes Laertius, and Stanley in  
 the



See there the olive grove of Academe,  
 Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird 245  
 Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;  
 There flow'ry hill Hymettus with the sound  
 Of bees industrious murmur oft invites

To

the life of Plato. The Academy is always described as a woody shady place, as here in Laertius, and in Horace, Ep. II. II. 45.

Atque inter sylvas Academi quæ-  
 rere verum :

but Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, for the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens being sacred to Minerva the Goddess of the city, and he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes Νῆφελαι Act 3. Scene 3.

Αλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίας κατιών, ὑπο-  
 ταῖς μορφαῖς ἀποθεξίς.

Sed in Academiam descendens,  
 sub sacris olivis spatiaberis.

Where the Attic bird, the nightingale, for Philomela, who according to the fables was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens, and for the same reason the nightingale is called *Arthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis. Martial Lib. 1. Ep. 46. Edit. Westm.

Sic, ubi multifona fervet facer  
 Arthide locus,

Improbæ Cacropias offendit pica  
 querelas.

Ludovicus de la Cerda in his notes upon Virgil observes, how often the ancient poets have made use of the comparison of the nightingale; Sophocles has it no less than seven times, Homer twice, and Euripides and several others: and we observed upon the Paradise Lost, how much Milton was delighted with the nightingale; no poet has introduc'd it so often, or spoken of it with such rapture as he; and perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of this sweet bird than the following,

Trills her thick-warbled notes  
 the summer long.

So that upon the whole I believe it may be asserted, that Plato's Academy was never more beautifully described than here in a few lines by Milton. Cicero, who has laid the scene of one of his dialogues there, De Fin. Lib. V. and had been himself upon the spot, has not painted it in more lively colors.

247. There flow'ry hill Hymettus  
 &c] And so Valerius Flaccus calls  
 it *Florea juga Hymetti*, Argonaut.  
 M 4 V.

To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls  
 His whisp'ring stream : within the walls then view  
 The schools of ancient sages ; his who bred 251  
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,  
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next :

There

V. 344. and the honey was so much esteem'd and celebrated by the Ancients, that it was reckon'd the best of the Attic honey, as the Attic honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. Ecl. l. 56.

Sæpe levi somnum suadebit ini. e  
 susurro :

but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attic learning.

249. — *there Ilissus rolls*

*His whisp'ring stream :*] Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks and at the spring of this pleasant river. — χαριετα γυν και καθαα και διαφανη τα υδατια φανταται, Nonne hinc aquulæ puræ ac pellucidæ jucundo murmure confluent ? Ed. Serr. Vol. 3 p. 229. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented

sitting on a green bank shaded with a spreading plantan, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth to have grown not so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence ; quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse. De Orat. l. 7.

253. *Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next :*] *Lyceum* was another gymnasium of the Athenians, and was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripatetics, so call'd *απο το περιπατεω* from his *walking* and *teaching* philosophy. *Stoa* was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoics ; and this Stoa or portico, being adorn'd with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικιλη or various, and here by Milton very properly the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius in the lives of Aristotle and Zeno. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles

There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power  
Of harmony in tones and numbers hit 255  
By voice or hand, and various-measur'd verse,  
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,  
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,  
Blind

ricles for the exercising of soldiers: and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the *Irene* speaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and *returning back into the city*: — εις το Λυκειον εισιοις; — και παλιν εξιοις εκ του Λυκειου, και απιοις εις την πολιν.

257. *Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,* ] *Æolian charms,* *Æolia carmina,* verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians. Hor. Od. III. XXX. 13.

Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos  
Deduxisse modos.

Od. IV. III. 12.

Fingent *Æolio carmine* nobilem.

*Dorian lyric odes,* such as those of Pindar, who calls his *Δωρικὰ φάρμακον* the Dorian harp, Olymp. I. 26. *Δωρικὴν πεδάλω* Dorian bufkin, Olymp. III. 9. *Δωρικὴν κομῶν* Dorian hymn, Pyth. VIII. 29.

258. *And his who gave them breath, &c.]* Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds

of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassæan, and Plutarch, have attempted to show, that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. See the ingenious author of the *Inquiry into the life and writings of Homer* enlarging upon this subject. Sect. 12. *Blind Melissigenes thence Homer call'd;* our author here follows Herodotus in his account of the life of Homer, that he was born near the river *Meles* from whence he had the name of *Melissigenes*, τιθεται ονομα τῷ παιδι Μελισσιγενεια, απο του ποταμου της ιωνικιας λαβουσα, and because he was *blind*, thence he was called *Homer* ὁ μη ὄρων, οτιουθεν δε και τοιομα Ὅμηρος επι- κρητησι τῷ Μελισσιγενει απο της συμφωνη; οἱ γὰρ Κυμαίοι της τυφλῆς ὁμιλῆς λεγουσιν. *Whose poem Phæbus challeng'd for his own,* alluding to a Greek epigram in the first book of the *Anthologia*,

Ἡειδὸς μὲν ἔγων, ἐχάρασσε δὲ  
Διὶ. Ὅμηρος,

which Mr. Fenton has enlarged and applied to Mr. Pope's English *Iliad*.



Blind Melefigenes thence Homer call'd,  
 Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own. 260  
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught  
 In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best  
 Of moral prudence with delight receiv'd  
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat  
 Of fate, of chance, and change in human life ; 265  
 High actions, and high passions best describing :

Thence e

262. *In Chorus or Iambic,*] These may be said to be the two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy, which was written either in iambic verse, or in verses of various measures, whereof the Chorus usually consisted. And the character here given of the ancient Greek tragedy is very just and noble ; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection than by reading our author's Sampson Agonistes.

267. *Thence to the famous orators repair, &c.*] How happily does Milton's versification in this and the following lines concerning the Socratic philosophy express what he is describing ! In the first we feel as it were the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates.

*Thyer.*

268. *Those ancient,*] For Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero,

who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times to Demetrius Phalereus and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero de claris Oratoribus. And in the judgment of Quintilian Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weaken'd eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator : is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator. De Instit. Orat. X. 1.

270.—*and fulmin'd over Greece,*] Alluding (as Mr. Jortin has likewise observed) to what Aristophanes has said of Pericles in his Acharnenses. Act 2. Scene 5.

Ετραπὼν, ἱεροῖα, ξυμκρυὰ τῆν  
 Ἑλλάδα.

Since I have mention'd this passage, I will add, that Cicero has alluded to it in his Orator 9, speaking of Pericles. Qui si tenui genere

Thence to the famous orators repair,  
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence  
 Wielded at will that fierce democratic,  
 Shook th' arsenal and fulmin'd over Greece, 270  
 To Macedon and Artaxerxes throne :  
 To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,  
 From Heav'n descended to the low-rooft house  
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,

Whom

nere uteretur, nunquam ab Aristophane poeta fulgere, tonare, permiscere Graciam dictus esset. Diodorus Siculus has quoted it likewise Lib. 12. and ascribed it to Eupolis the poet, the same who is mention'd by Horace.

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ.

και παλις εν αλλοις Ευπολις ο ποιητης — Περικλης ουλυμνω Ηρακλ', ιβριστα, συνικυα την 'Ελλαδα. Cicero had at first fallen into the same mistake as Diodorus, which is often the case of writers who quote by memory ; and therefore desires Atticus to correct the copies, and for Eupolis to put in Aristophanes. Cic. ad Att. XII. 6. mihi erit gratum, si non modo in libris tuis, sed etiam in aliorum per librariorum tuos Aristophanem reposeris pro Eupoli. The mistake was corrected according to his desire ; at least it is so in all the remaining copies and editions.

271. To Macedon and Artaxerxes throne : ] As Pericles and others fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes throne against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon against king Philip in his orations therefore denominated Philippics.

273. From Heav'n descended to the low-rooft house Of Socrates ; ] Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juv. Sat. XI. 27,

— e cœlo descendit γυνὴ  
 σιαυτοῖς,

as this famous Delphic precept was the foundation of Socrates's philosophy, and so much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of Socrates, Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit,

Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 275  
 Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth  
 Mellifluous streams that water'd all the schools  
 Of Academics old and new, with those  
 Sirnam'd Peripatetics, and the sect  
 Epicurean, and the Stoic severe ; 280  
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,  
 Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight ;  
 These rules will render thee a king complete  
 Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.

To

vit, et in domus etiam introduxit. Tusc. Disp. V. 4. But he has given a very different sense to the words either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton observes. It is properly call'd *the low-roof'd house* ; for I believe, said Socrates, that if I could meet with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my goods and house and all five pounds. *Εγω μιν οἶμαι (ἴφθι ὁ Σωκράτης) εἰ ἀγαθὸν ὦνται πωτὺχομαι, ἔργον αὖ μοι σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντα πᾶσι ῥαδίως πωτὺ μίαι.* Xenophon Oeconomic. five mina's or Attic pounds were better than sixteen pounds of our money, a mina according to Barnard being three pounds eight shillings and nine pence.

275. *Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd Wisest of men ;* ] The verse deli-

vered down to us upon this occasion is this,

*Αἰδοῦναι ἀπαίλων Σωκράτης σοφω-  
 ται.*

Of all men Socrates is the wisest.

See Diogenes Laertius in vita Socratis. Mr. Calton adds, that the Tempter designs here a compliment to himself ; for he would be understood to be the inspirer.

276.—*from whose mouth issued forth &c*] Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *font philosophorum*, l. 10. and as the ancients looked upon Homer as the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. The different sects of philosophers were but so many different families, which all acknowledged him for their common parent. See Cicero Academic.



To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd, 285  
 Think not but that I know these things, or think  
 I know them not ; not therefore am I short  
 Of knowing what I ought : he who receives  
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,  
 No other doctrin needs, though granted true ; 290  
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,  
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.  
 The first and wisest of them all profess'd  
 To know this only, that he nothing knew ;

The

demic. I. 4. Tusc. Disp. V. 4. and particularly De Orat. III, 16, 17. The quotation would be too long to be inserted. See likewise Mr. Warburton's account of the Socratic school. B. 3. Sect. 3. of the Divine Legation.

283. *These rules will render thee &c]* Ask *what* rules, and no answer can be regularly given : ask *where*, and the answer is easy. There is no mention before of rules ; but of poets, orators, philosophers there is. We should read therefore,

*Their rules will render thee a king complete.* Calton.

285. *To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd]* This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contain'd in

it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it : and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best express'd in a grave unaffected stile, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an overmatch for falshood though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colors. *Thyer.*

293. *The first and wisest of them all]* Socrates profess'd to know *this only, that he nothing knew.* Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refel-

lat

The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits ; 295  
 A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;  
 Others in virtue plac'd felicity,  
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life ;  
 In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease ;  
 The Stoic last in philosophic pride, 300  
 By him call'd virtue ; and his virtuous man,

Wife,

lat alios : nihil se scire dicat, nisi  
 id ipsum : eoque præstare ceteris,  
 quod illi quæ nesciant scire se pu-  
 rent ; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum  
 sciat. Cicero Academic. I. 4.

295. *The next to fabling fell and  
 smooth conceits ;*] See Parker's  
 Free and impartial censure of the  
 Platonic philosophy. Oxford 1667.  
 p. 71. " Plato and his followers  
 " have communicated their notions  
 " by emblems, fables, symbols,  
 " parables, heaps of metaphors,  
 " allegories, and all sorts of my-  
 " stical representations, (as is vul-  
 " garly known.) All which, upon  
 " the account of their obscurity  
 " and ambiguity, are apparently  
 " the unfittest signs in the world  
 " to express the train of any man's  
 " thoughts to another : For besides  
 " that they carry in them no in-  
 " telligible affinity to the notions  
 " which they were design'd to in-  
 " timise, the powers of imagina-  
 " tion are so great, and the in-  
 " stances in which one thing may  
 " resemble another are so many,  
 " that there is scarce any thing in

" nature, in which the fancy can-  
 " not find or make a variety of  
 " such symbolizing resemblances ;  
 " so that emblems, fables, sym-  
 " bols, allegories, tho' they are  
 " pretty poetic fancies, are infi-  
 " nitely unfit to express philoso-  
 " phical notions and discoveries of  
 " the natures of things. — The  
 " end of philosophy is to search  
 " into, and discover the nature of  
 " things ; but I believe you under-  
 " stand not how the nature of any  
 " thing is at all discovered by  
 " making it the theme of allegori-  
 " cal and dark discourses."

Calton.

296. *A third sort doubted all things,  
 though plain sense ;*] These were  
 the Sceptics or Pyrrhonians the  
 disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted  
 nothing, neither honest nor dis-  
 honest, just nor unjust, and so of  
 every thing ; that there is nothing  
 indeed such, but that men do all  
 things by law and custom ; that in  
 every thing this is not rather than  
 that. This was called the Sceptic  
 philosophy from its continual in-  
 spection,

Wife, perfect in himself, and all possessing,  
 Equals to God, oft shames not to prefer,  
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all  
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,  
 Which when he lists he leaves, or boasts he can,  
 For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,  
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.

Alas

spection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's life of Pyrrho, who takes his account from Diogenes Laertius.

297. *Others in virtue &c*] These were the old Academics, and the Peripatetics the scholars of Aristotle. *Honeste autem vivere, fruentem rebus iis, quas primas homini natura conciliet, et vetus Academia censuit, et Aristoteles: ejusque amici nunc proxime videntur accedere.* Cicero Academic. II. 42. *Ergo nata est sententia veterum Academicorum et Peripateticorum, ut finem bonorum dicerent, secundum naturam vivere, id est, virtute adhibita, frui primis à natura datis.* de Fin. II. 11.

299. *In corporal pleasure be, and careless ease;*] Epicurus. *Confirmat autem illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, adsciscat et reprobet, id est, voluptatem et dolorem: ad hæc, et quæ sequamur et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia.* Cicero de Fin. I. 7.

300. *The Stoic last &c*] The reason why Milton represents our Sa-

viour taking such particular notice of the Stoics above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refin'd and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most rever'd and esteem'd for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus, and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following. *Thyer.*

303. *Equals to God,*] In Milton's own edition, and all following, it is *Equal to God*: but I cannot but think this an error of the press, the sense is so much improved by the addition only of a single letter.

*Equals to God, oft shames not to prefer,*

307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,*

Or



Alas what can they teach, and not mislead,  
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310  
 And how the world began, and how man fell  
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?  
 Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,  
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves  
 All glory arrogate, to God give none, 315  
 Rather accuse him under usual names,  
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite  
 Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these  
 True wisdom, finds her not, or by delusion  
 Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320  
 An empty cloud. However many books,

Wife

*Or subtle shifts]* Vain boasts relate  
 to the Stoical paradoxes, and *subtle*  
*shifts* to their dialectic, which this  
 sect so much cultivated, as to be as  
 well known by the name Dialectici  
 as Stoici. Warburton.

313. *Much of the soul they talk,*  
*but all awry,]* See what Mr.  
 Warburton has said upon this sub-  
 ject in the first volume of the Di-  
 vine Legation.

314. *And in themselves seek virtue,*  
*and to themselves*  
*All glory arrogate, to God give*  
*none,]* Cicero speaks the sen-

timents of ancient philosophy up-  
 on this point in the following  
 words : ——— propter virtutem  
 enim jure laudamur, et in virtute  
 recte gloriamur : quod non contin-  
 geret, si id donum a Deo, non a  
 nobis haberemus. At vero aut  
 honoribus aucti, aut re familiari,  
 aut si aliud quippiam nacti su-  
 mus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus  
 mali, cum Diis gratias agimus,  
 tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum  
 arbitramur. Num quis, quod bo-  
 nus vir esset, gratias Diis egit un-  
 quam? At quod dives, quod ho-  
 noratus, quod incolumis. — Ad  
 rem

Wise men have said, are wearisome ; who reads  
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not  
 A spirit and judgment equal or superior,  
 (And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek ?)  
 Uncertain and unsettled still remains, 326  
 Deep vers'd in books and shallow in himself,  
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,  
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge ;  
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore. 330  
 Or if I would delight my private hours  
 With music or with poem, where so soon  
 As in our native language can I find  
 That solace ? All our law and story strow'd

With

*rem autem ut redeam, judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam à Deo petendam, à se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam. De Nat. Deor. III. 36.*

Warburton.

321. *An empty cloud,*] A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embrac'd an empty cloud for a Juno.

322. *Wise men have said,*] Alluding to Eccles. XII. 12. *Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.*

322. — *who reads*

VOL. I.

*Incessantly, &c.]* See the same just sentiment in *Paradise Lost* VII. 126.

But knowledge is as food, and needs no less

Her temp'rance over appetite, &c. *Thyer.*

325. *And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek ?]* The poet makes the old sophister the Devil always busy in his trade. 'Tis pity he should make Jesus (as he does here) use the same arms.

Warburton.

N

335—our

With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,  
 Our Hebrew songs and harps in Babylon, 336  
 That pleas'd so well our victors ear, declare  
 That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;  
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing  
 The vices of their Deities, and their own 340  
 In fable, hymn, or song, so personating  
 Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.  
 Remove their swelling epithets thick laid  
 As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,  
 Thin sown with ought of profit or delight, 345  
 Will

335. — *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,*] He means the inscriptions often prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as To the chief musician upon Nehiloth, To the chief musician on Neginoth upon Sheminith, Shigaion of David, Michtam of David, &c, to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments.

336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps in Babylon,*

*That pleas'd so well our victors ear,*] This is said upon the authority of Psal. CXXXVII. 1 &c. *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea we wept, when we remembered Sion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they*

*that wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Sion.*

338. *That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;*] This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length by Huetius and Gale. Warburton.

343. — *swelling epithets*] Greek compounds. Warburton.

The hymns of the Greek poets to their Deities consist of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Our Saviour very probably alluded to these, where he cautions his disciples against vain repetitions and



Will far be found unworthy to compare  
 With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,  
 Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,  
 The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints ;  
 Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee, 350  
 Unless where moral virtue is express'd  
 By light of nature not in all quite lost.  
 Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those  
 The top of eloquence, statists indeed,  
 And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355  
 But herein to our prophets far beneath,

As

and much speaking (βασιλογία) in  
 their prayers, Matt. VI. 7.

Thyer.

346. *Will far be found unworthy  
 to compare*

*With Sion's songs,*] He was of  
 this opinion not only in the de-  
 cline of life, but likewise in his  
 earlier days, as appears from the  
 preface to his second book of the  
*Reason of Church-Government.*—

“ Or if occasion shall lead to imi-  
 “ tate those magnific odes and  
 “ hymns wherein Pindarus and  
 “ Callimachus are in most things  
 “ worthy, some others in their  
 “ frame judicious, in their matter  
 “ most an end faulty. But those  
 “ frequent songs throughout the  
 “ law and prophets beyond all  
 “ these, not in their divine argu-

“ ment alone, but in the very cri-  
 “ tical art of composition, may  
 “ be easily made appear over all  
 “ the kinds of lyric poetry, to be  
 “ incomparable.”

350. *Such are from God inspir'd,  
 not such from thee,*

*Unless where moral virtue is ex-  
 press'd &c.]* The sense of these  
 lines is obscure and liable to mis-  
 take. The meaning of them is,  
 poets from thee inspired are not  
 such as these, unless where moral  
 virtue is expressed &c.

Meadowcroft.

353. — *as those]* I should pre-  
 fer — *as though.* Calton.

354. — *statists]* Or statesmen.  
 A word in more frequent use for-  
 merly, as in Shakespear, Cymbe-  
 line Act 2. Scene 5.

N 2

— I

As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
 The solid rules of civil government  
 In their majestic unaffected stile  
 Than all th' oratory of Greece and Rome. 360

In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,  
 What makes a nation happy', and keeps it so,  
 What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;  
 These only with our law best form a king.

So spake the Son of God; but Satan now 365  
 Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent,  
 Thus to our Saviour with stern brow reply'd.

Since neither wealth, nor honor, arms nor arts,  
 Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor ought  
 By me propos'd in life contemplative, 370  
 Or active, tended on by glory', or fame,  
 What dost thou in this world? the wilderness

For

— I do believe,  
 (*Statist* though I am none, nor  
 like to be :)  
 and Hamlet Act 5. Sc. 3.

I once did hold it, as our *statists*  
 do, &c.

362.—*makes happy and keeps so*  
 Hor. Epist. l. VI. 2.

— *facere et servare beatum.*  
*Richardson.*

380.—*fulness of time,*] Gal.  
 IV. 4. *When the fulness of the  
 time was come, God sent forth his  
 Son.*

382.—*if I read ought in Hea-  
 ven, &c.*] A satire on Cardan,  
 who with the boldness and impiety  
 of an atheist and a madman, both  
 of which he was, cast the nativity  
 of Jesus Christ, and found by the  
 great and illustrious concourse of  
 stars at his birth, that he must  
 needs

For thee is fittest place ; I found thee there,  
 And thither will return thee ; yet remember  
 What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause 375  
 To wish thou never hadst rejected thus  
 Nicely or cautiously my offer'd aid,  
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease  
 On David's throne, or throne of all the world,  
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380  
 When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.  
 Now contrary, if I read ought in Heaven,  
 Or Heav'n write ought of fate, by what the stars  
 Voluminous, or single characters,  
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385  
 Sorrows, and labors, opposition, hate  
 Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,  
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death ;

A

needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton with a just indignation of this impiety hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the Devil : where it is to be observed, that the poet thought it not enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by making it patro-

nized by the Devil, without showing at the same time the absurdity of it. He has therefore very judiciously made him blunder in the expression, of *portending a kingdom which was without beginning*. This destroys all he would insinuate. The poet's conduct is fine and ingenious. See Warburton's *Shakespeare* Vol. 6. *Lear* Act 1. Sc. 8.



A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,  
 Real or allegoric I discern not, 390  
 Nor when, eternal sure, as without end,  
 Without beginning; for no date prefix'd  
 Directs me in the starry rubric set.

So say'ing he took (for still he knew his power  
 Not yet expir'd) and to the wilderness 395  
 Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,  
 Feigning to disappear. Darknes now rose,  
 As day-light sunk, and brought in loursing night  
 Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,

Privation

399. — *unsubstantial both,*] His philosophy is here ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting. Warburton.

408. — *and soon with ugly dreams &c.*] It is remarkable, that the poet made the Devil begin his temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams, and to end his temptation of Jesus in that manner. I leave it to the critics to find out the reason; for I will venture to say he had a very good one. Warburton.

409. — *and either tropic now*  
*'Gan thunder, and both ends of*  
*Heav'n, the clouds &c.]* Place the stops thus :

— and either tropic now

'Gan thunder, and both ends of  
 Heav'n. the clouds &c.

It thunder'd from both tropics, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The Ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropic, and the left towards the winter tropic. Πυθαγορας, Πλατων, Αριστοτελης, δεξια το κοσμου τα ανατολικά μερη, α'φ' ου η αρχη της κινήσεως αριστερα δε, τα δυτικά. Εμπεδοκλής δεξια μεν τα κατὰ τον θερινον τροπικον αριστερα

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Privation mere of light and absent day. 400

Our Saviour meek and with untroubled mind  
After his aery jaunt, though hurried fore,  
Hungry and cold betook him to his rest,  
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,  
Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might  
shield 405

From dews and damp of night his shelter'd head,  
But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head  
The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams  
Disturb'd his sleep; and either tropic now 409  
'Gan

εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. De Placit. Philos. II. 10. Αἰγυπτῖοι οἰοῦνται τὰ μὲν ἰνὰ, τὰ νοτιὰ ὑπερσυνήκον ἰνὰ, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ-βορρᾶν, δεξιὰ, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ-νοτιον, ἀριστερά. Id. de Isid. p. 363. If by *either tropic* be meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heav'n* may be understood, *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropics cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropics: but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is thus: It thundered all along the Heav'n, from the north pole to the tropic of Cancer, from thence to the tropic of Capricorn, from thence to

the south pole. From pole to pole. The *ends of Heav'n* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil *Æn.* I.

Intonuere poli —

Id est extremæ partes cœli — a quibus totum cœlum contonuisse significat. Servius. *Jortin.*

Mr. Sympfon proposes to read and point the passage thus;

— and either tropic now  
'Gan thunder; *at* both ends of  
Heav'n the clouds &c:

Mr. Meadowcourt points it thus;

— and either tropic now  
'Gan thunder, and both ends of  
Heav'n: the clouds &c:

But after all I am still for pre-  
N 4 serving

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heav'n, the clouds  
 From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd  
 Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire  
 In ruin reconcil'd : nor slept the winds  
 Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad  
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415  
 On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,  
 Though

serving Milton's own punctuation, unless there be very good reason for departing from it, and I understand the passage thus : *and either tropic now 'gan thunder*, it thundered from the north and from the south, for this I conceive to be Milton's meaning, tho' the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour and Satan being not within the tropics : *and both ends of Heav'n*, that is, and from or at both ends of Heav'n, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton, and several instances were given in the notes on the Paradise Lost. See particularly Dr. Pearce's note on l. 282. *and from both ends of Heav'n, the clouds &c.* This storm is describ'd very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil Spirits. See Canto 7. St. 114, 115. for I would not lengthen this note, too long already, with the quotation.

412. — *water with fire*  
*In ruin reconcil'd :*] That is, joining together to do hurt. Warburton.

This bold figure our poet has borrow'd from Æschilus, where he is describing the storm, which scatter'd the Grecian fleet. Agamemnon. ver. 659.

Ευνωμοσαν γαρ, οντις ιχθυοι το  
 περ,  
 Πυρ και θαλασσα, και τα πιστ'  
 εδειξατην,  
 Θθειροντε τον δυσηιον Αργειων στρα-  
 τον. Thyer.

Or perhaps it means only *water and fire falling down both together*, according to Milton's usage of the word *ruin* in Paradise Lost, l. 46. VI. 868.

415. *From the four hinges of the world,*] That is from the four cardinal points, the word *cardines* signifying both the one and the other. This, as was observed before, is a poetical tempest like that in Virgil. Æn. l. 85.

Unà Eurisque Notusque ruunt,  
 creberque procellis  
 Africus.

And as Mr. Thyer adds, tho' such storms



Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks  
Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,  
Or torn up sheer: ill wast thou shrouded then,  
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420  
Unshaken; nor yet stay'd the terror there,  
Infernal ghosts, and Hellish furies, round [shriek'd,  
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some  
Some

storms are unknown to us in these parts of the world, yet the accounts we have of hurricanes in the Indies agree pretty much with them.

417. *Though rooted deep as high,*] Virgil Georg. II. 291. Æn. IV. 445.

— quantum vertice ad auras  
Æthereas, tantum radice in Tar-  
tara tendit. Richardson.

420. — yet only stood'st  
Unshaken; &c.] Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius de Dem. Evan. Lib. 9. [Vol. 2, p. 434. Ed. Col.] The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days and the same number of nights — Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταῖς τεσσαύταις νύξιν ἐπειράζετο. And to these night temptations he applies what is said in the 91st Psalm, v. 5. and 6. Οὐ φοβήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νύκτις, Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, — ἀπὸ πρᾶγματις ἐν σκότειν διαπορευομένου,

nor for the danger that walketh in darkness. The first is thus paraphras'd in the Targum, (tho' with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) Non timebis à timore Daemonum qui ambulant in nocte. The Fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.

Infernal ghosts, and Hellish furies, round  
Environ'd thee,

This too is from Eusebius, [ibid. p. 435.] Επειπερ ἐν τῇ περιεργίᾳ δυνάμεις πονηρᾶς ἐκύκλουν αὐτόν. — quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ potestates illum circumstabant. And their repulse, it seems, is predicted in the 7th verse of this Psalm: A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee. Calton.

422. *Infernal ghosts, &c.]* This taken from the legend or the pictures of St. Anthony's temptation. Warburton.

This description is taken from a print which I have seen of the temptation of St. Anthony. Fortin.  
426. — till

Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou  
 Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace. 425  
 Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair  
 Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray,  
 Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar  
 Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,  
 And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd 430  
 To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.  
 And now the sun with more effectual beams  
 Had chear'd the face of earth, and dry'd the wet  
 From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,  
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,  
 After a night of storm so ruinous, 436  
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray  
 To

426. — *till morning fair*  
*Came forth &c]* As there is a  
 storm raised by evil Spirits in Tasso  
 as well as in Milton, so a fine  
 morning succeeds after the one as  
 well as after the other. See Tasso  
 Cant. 8. St. 1. But there the  
 morning comes *with a forehead of*  
*rose, and with a foot of gold; con la*  
*fronte di rose, e co' piè d'oro*; here  
*with pilgrim steps in amice gray*, as  
 Milton describes her progress more  
 leisurely, first the gray morning,  
 and afterwards the sun rising: *with*  
*pilgrim steps*, with the slow solemn  
 pace of a pilgrim on a journey of

devotion; *in amice gray*, in gray  
 cloathing; *amice*, a proper and sig-  
 nificant word, derived from the  
 Latin *amicis* to clothe, and used by  
 Spenser, Faery Queen. B. 1. Cant.  
 4. St. 18.

Array'd in habit black, and  
*amice* thin,  
 Like to an holy monk, the ser-  
 vice to begin.

428. *Who with her radiant finger*  
*still'd the roar*  
*Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, &c]*  
 This is a very pretty imitation of  
 a passage in the first Æneid of Vir-  
 gil,

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187

To gratulate the sweet return of morn ;  
 Nor yet amidst this joy and brightest morn  
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440  
 The prince of darkness, glad would also seem  
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came,  
 Yet with no new device, they all were spent,  
 Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,  
 Desp'rate of better course, to vent his rage, 445  
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.  
 Him walking on a sunny hill he found,  
 Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood ;  
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,  
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450  
 Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,

After

gil, where Neptune is represented  
 with his trident laying the storm  
 which Æolus had raised. ver. 142.

*Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida  
 æquora placat,  
 Collectasque fugat nubes, solem-  
 que reducit.*

There is the greater beauty in the  
 English poet, as the scene he is de-  
 scribing under this charming figure  
 is perfectly consistent with the  
 course of nature, nothing being  
 more common than to see a stormy  
 night succeeded by a pleasant se-  
 rene morning. *Thyer.*

430. *And grisly spectres,*] Very  
 injudicious to retail this popular  
 superstition in this place.

*Warburton.*

432. *And now the sun &c*] There  
 is in this description all the bloom  
 of Milton's youthful fancy. See  
 an evening scene of the same kind  
 in the Paradise Lost. II. 488.

As when from mountain tops  
 &c. *Thyer.*

435. *Who all things now beheld*] Doth not the syntax require, that  
 we should rather read

Who all things now beheld — ?

453. *As*



After a dismal night ; I heard the wrack  
 As earth and sky would mingle ; but myself  
 Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals fear them  
 As dang'rous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven, 455  
 Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,  
 Are to the main as inconsiderable,  
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze  
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone ;  
 Yet as being oft times noxious where they light 460  
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,  
 Like turbulencies in th' affairs of men,  
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,  
 They oft fore-signify and threaten ill :  
 This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465  
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.  
 Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject  
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid  
 To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong  
 All to the push of fate, pursue thy way 470  
 Of

453. *As earth and sky would mingle ; ]* Virgil *Æn.* I. 137.

*Jam cælum terramque, meo sine numine, venti,*

*Miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles ?* Richardson.

455. *As dang'rous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,]* So also in the *Mask*

— if

Of gaining David's throne no man knows when,  
 For both the when and how is no where told,  
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;  
 For angels have proclam'd it, but concealing  
 The time and means: each act is rightliest done, 475  
 Not when it must, but when it may be best.

If thou observe not this, be sure to find,  
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay  
 Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,  
 Ere thou of Israel's scepter get fast hold; 480  
 Whereof this ominous night that clos'd thee round,  
 So many terrors, voices, prodigies  
 May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

So talk'd he while the Son of God went on  
 And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm  
 Those terrors which thou speak'st of, did me none;  
 I never fear'd they could, though noising loud  
 And threatning nigh; what they can do as signs

Betokening

— if this fail,  
 The pillar'd firmament is rotten-  
 ness.

In both, no doubt, alluding to Job  
 XXVI. 11. *The pillars of Heaven*

*tremble, and are astonish'd at his re-  
 proof. Thyer.*

467. *Did I not tell thee, &c.]*  
 This sentence is dark and per-  
 plex'd, having no proper exit.

501. *For*

Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn 490  
 As false portents, not sent from God, but thee ;  
 Who knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,  
 Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I accepting  
 At least might seem to hold all pow'r of thee,  
 Ambitious Spi'rit, and wouldst be thought my God,  
 And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify 496  
 Me to thy will ; desist, thou art discern'd  
 And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest.

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage reply'd.  
 Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born ; 500  
 For Son of God to me is yet in doubt :  
 Of the Messiah I have heard foretold  
 By all the Prophets ; of thy birth at length  
 Announc'd by Gabriel with the first I knew,  
 And of th' angelic song in Bethlehem field, 505  
 On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.  
 From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye

Thy

501. *For Son of God to me is yet in doubt :*] The Tempter had heard Christ declar'd to be Son of God by a voice from Heaven. He allows him to be *virgin-born*. He hath no scruples about the annunciation, and the truth of what Ga-

briel told the blessed woman (Luke I. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee ; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.*) and yet he doubts of his being the Son



Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,  
 Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred ;  
 Till at the ford of Jordan whither all 510  
 Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest,  
 Though not to be baptiz'd, by voice from Heaven  
 Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.  
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view  
 And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515  
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd  
 The Son of God, which bears no single sense ;  
 The Son of God I also am, or was,  
 And if I was, I am ; relation stands ;  
 All men are Sons of God ; yet thee I thought 520  
 In some respect far higher so declar'd.  
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,  
 And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild ;  
 Where by all best conjectures I collect  
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy. 525

Good

*Son of God notwithstanding.* This is easily accounted for. On the terms of the annunciation Christ might be the Son of God in a sense very particular, and yet a mere man as to his nature : but the doubt

relates to what he was *more than man*, worth calling *Son of God*, that is worthy to be called *Son of God* in that high and proper sense, in which his sonship would infer his divinity. *Calton.*

538.— *what*

Good reason then, if I before-hand seek  
 To understand my adversary, who  
 And what he is; his wisdom, pow'r, intent;  
 By parl, or composition, truce, or league  
 To win him, or win from him what I can. 530  
 And opportunity I here have had  
 To try thee, sift thee, and confels have found thee  
 Proof against all temptation, as a rock  
 Of adamant, and as a center, firm,  
 To th' utmost of mere man both wise and good, 535  
 Not more; for honors, riches, kingdoms, glory  
 Have been before contern'd, and may again:

Therefore

538. — *what more thou art than man,*  
*Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven.* ] See Bishop Pearson on the Creed. p. 106.  
 " We must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's  
 " filiation, totally distinct from any  
 " which belongs unto the rest of  
 " the Sons of God, that he may  
 " be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only begotten Son*.  
 " For altho' to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, yet  
 " is it not so far above the production of all mankind, as to  
 " place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed  
 " to the *only-begotten*. We read

" of Adam the Son of God as well  
 " as Seth the Son of Adam: Luke III. 38. and surely the framing  
 " Christ out of a woman cannot  
 " so far transcend the making  
 " Adam out of the earth, as to  
 " cause so great a distance, as we  
 " must believe, between the first  
 " and second Adam. Calton.

541. — *and without wing Of hippogrif &c* ] Here Milton design'd a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. An *hippogrif* is an imaginary creature, part like an horse and part like a gryphon. See Orlando Furioso Cant. 4. St. 18. or 13th Stanza of Harrington's translation.

Only

Ariosto  
 this  
 V

Therefore to know what more thou art than man,  
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,  
 Another method I must now begin. 540

So say'ing he caught him up, and without wing  
 Of hippogrif bore through the air sublime  
 Over the wilderness and o'er the plain ;  
 Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,  
 The holy city lifted high her towers, 545  
 And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd  
 Her pile, far off appearing like a mount  
 Of alabaster, topt with golden spires :  
 There on the highest pinnacle he set

The

Only the beast he rode was not  
 of art,  
 But gotten of a griffeth and a  
 mare,  
 And like a griffeth had the for-  
 mer part.  
 As wings and head, and claws  
 that hideous are,  
 And passing strength and force,  
 and ventrous heart,  
 But all the rest may with a horse  
 compare.  
 Such beasts as these the hills of  
 Ryfee yield,  
 Though in these parts they have  
 been seen but feeld.

Ariosto frequently makes use of  
 this creature to convey his heroes  
 Vol. I.

hither and thither ; but Milton  
 would insinuate that he employ'd  
 no such machinery.

549. *There on the highest pinnacle  
 he set*

*The Son of God,*] He has chosen  
 to follow the order observed by  
 St. Luke in placing this temptation  
 last, because if he had with St. Mat-  
 thew introduc'd it in the middle,  
 it would have broke that fine thread  
 of moral reasoning, which is ob-  
 served in the course of the other  
 temptations. *Thyer.*

In the Gospel account of the  
 temptation no discovery is made  
 of the incarnation ; and this grand  
 mystery is as little known to the  
 Tempter at the end, as at the be-  
 O ginning.



The Son of God, and added thus in scorn. 550

There stand, if thou wilt stand ; to stand upright  
Will ask thee skill ; I to thy Father's house  
Have brought thee', and highest plac'd, highest is best,  
Now show thy progeny ; if not to stand,  
Cast thyself down ; safely, if Son of God : 555

For

ginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be clos'd with a full discovery of it : there are *three* circumstances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the Gospels. 1. The critics have not been able to ascertain what the *πτερύγιον* or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon : but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle. 2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the Gospels, the last only is or could be suggested. 3. In the Gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alleged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there)

must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God*. But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God*. *Calton.*

561. *Tempt not the Lord thy God : he said and stood :* ] Here is what we may call after Aristotle the *αἰσθητικὴ*, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter ; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle shows it to be so ; which is otherwise impertinently introduc'd, and against the rule,

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus  
vindice nodus

Inciderit. —

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allow'd before. 2. There is a connection between Christ's *saying* and *standing*, which demonstrates that he *stood*, in proof of something he had *said*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord*

For it is written, He will give command  
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands  
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time  
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.

To whom thus Jesus; Also it is written, 560  
Tempt not the Lord thy God: he said and stood:  
But

*Lord thy God*, as alleged in the Gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want of such an attestation: but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter's attack upon Christ; it was for this end therefore that he stood.

Calton. I cannot entirely approve this learned Gentleman's exposition, for I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the same sense, in which they were spoken in the Gospels; because I would not make the poem to differ from the Gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter set our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there required of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the Gospels, *It is written again Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, tacitly inferring that his

casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said*, he gave this reason for not casting himself down, *and stood*. His *standing* properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter requir'd: *Now show thy progeny*. His *standing* convinces Satan. His *standing* is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's fall; and the grand contrast is formed between the *standing* of the one and the *fall* of the other.

— He said, and stood:  
But Satan smitten with amazement fell.

and afterwards ver. 571.

*Fell* whence he stood to see his victor fall.

and ver. 576

So struck with dread and anguish  
*fell* the Fiend.

and ver. 581.

So Satan fell.

O 2

563. A

But Satan smitten with amazement fell.  
 As when earth's son Antæus (to compare  
 Small things with greatest) in Irafra strove  
 With Jove's Alcides, and oft foil'd still rose, 565  
 Receiving from his mother earth new strength,  
 Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,  
 Throttled at length in th' air, expir'd and fell;  
 So after many a foil the Tempter proud,  
 Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride 570  
 Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.  
 And as that Theban monster that propos'd

Her

563. *As when earth's son Antæus*] This simile in the person of the poet amazingly fine. Warburton.

564. — in *Irafra* strove  
*With Jove's Alcides,*] *Irafra* is a place in Libya, mention'd by Herodotus, IV. 158. εἰς δὲ τῶν χωρῶν τετὶν ὄνομα Ἰρασσά, and from him by Stephanus Byzant, who says, Ἰρασσά, τοπὸν Λιβύης, εἰς ὃν μετ' ἡγήτορον Βατίον οἱ Λίβυες, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος — where Berkellius notes, Hujus urbis quoque meminit Pindarus Pyth. IX. sed duplicis (read duplici s) scribitur:

Ὅσοι Λιβύσσης ἀμ-  
 φι γυναικῶν ἴσαν  
 Ἰρασσαν περὶ πόλιν Αἰλαί-  
 ον, μετὰ καλλιόμορον  
 μιν αἰσθηρὴν ἀγακλῆα κούραν.

Ad quem locum sic scribit Scholiastes: Ἰρασσά πόλις Λιβύης, ἣν ὠκῆσεν Αἰλαίῳ, ἔχ' ὃ παλαισας Ἡρακλῆι, ἐκεῖν' γὰρ διαλλάσσει τοῖς χρόνοις, ὃν καὶ ἀνέλεον Ἡρακλῆς. Pindarus nomen urbis genere fœm. protulit, quod Schol. alio loco numero multitudinis & genere neut. effert: Εἰσι γὰρ φασιν, ὅτι ὁ ἀπὸ Ἡρακλῆος καταγοισθῆς Αἰλαίῳ, Ἰρασσίης ἦν, ἀπὸ Ἰρασσῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριτωνίδι λίμνῃ, ὡς φησι Φερικυδῆς. From whence we may observe, that in Herodotus and Stephanus, *Irafra* is the name of a place, in Pindar and his Scholiast, the name of a town: that the name is *Irafra* in Herodotus, *Hirafa* in Stephanus, (though perhaps it should be *Irafra*, Ἰρασσά, there) *Irafra* in Pindar and his Scholiast: that



Her riddle', and him who solv'd it not, devour'd,  
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite  
 Cast herself headlong from th' Ismenian steep; 575  
 So struck with dread and anguish fell the Fiend,  
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought  
 Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,  
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,  
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580  
 So Satan fell; and strait a fiery globe  
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,  
 Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft

From

that the Scholiast says, *Anteus* dwelt at *Iraffa*, not he who wrestled with *Hercules*, but one later than him; which, if true, makes against Milton: that he afterwards adds, that according to the opinion of some, the *Anteus* whom *Hercules* overcame was *Ἰγασσις*, and *Ἰγασσις*, which *Berkelius* takes to be the genitive of *ἰγασσός*, though it may be of *ἰγασσός*. Jortin. *Anteus* dwelt at the city *Iraffa*, according to *Pindar*. But it was not there that he wrestled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to *Pliny*. *Lixos vel fabulosissime antiquis narrata. Ibi regia Antæi, certamenque cum Hercule.* Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 1. *Meadowcourt*.

572. And as that Theban monster &c] The Sphinx, whose riddle be-

ing resolved by *Oedipus*, she threw herself into the sea. *Statius Theb.* I. 66.

*Si Sphingos iniquæ  
 Callidus ambages te præmon-  
 strante resolvit.*

581. — and strait a fiery globe  
 Of Angels &c] There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally fill'd with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in.

*Thyer.*  
 So *Psyche* was carried down from  
 O 3 the

From his uneasy station, and upbore  
 As on a floating couch through the blithe air, 585  
 Then in a flow'ry valley set him down  
 On a green bank, and set before him spread  
 A table of celestial food, divine,  
 Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,  
 And from the fount of life ambrosial drink, 590  
 That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd  
 What hunger, if ought hunger had impair'd,  
 Or thirst; and as he fed, angelic quires  
 Sung heav'nly anthems of his victory  
 Over temptation, and the Tempter proud. 595

True

the rock by zephyrs, and laid  
 lightly on a green and flowry bank,  
 and there entertain'd with invisible  
 music. See Apuleius. Lib. IV.

Richardson.

585. *As on a floating couch through  
 the blithe air,*] Which way so-  
 ever I turn this term *blithe*, it con-  
 veys no idea to me suitable to the  
 place it occupies: nor do my dic-  
 tionaries aid me in the least. The  
 place is certainly corrupted, and  
 ought to run so,

— through the *lithe* air.

Our author uses the word in his  
*Paradise Lost* in the sense requir'd  
 here,

— and wreath'd  
 His *lithe* proboscis. IV. 347.

I make no doubt of the certainty  
 of this conjecture. *Symphon.*

I question whether others will have  
 so good an opinion of this emen-  
 dation, as the Gentleman seems to  
 entertain of it himself. I conceive  
*through the blithe air* to be much  
 the same as if he had said *through  
 the glad air*, and the propriety of  
 such a metaphor wants no justifica-  
 tion or explanation.

593.

— angelic quires  
*Sung heav'nly anthems of his vic-  
 tory]* As Milton in his *Para-*

*dise Lost* had represented the Angels  
 singing triumph upon the Messiah's  
 victory over the rebel Angels; so  
 here again with the same propriety  
 they are described celebrating his  
 success

True Image of the Father, whether thron'd  
 In the bosom of bliss, and light of light  
 Conceiving, or remote from Heav'n, inshrind  
 In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,  
 Wand'ring the wilderness, whatever place, 600  
 Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing  
 The Son of God, with God-like force indued  
 Against th' attempter of thy Father's throne,  
 And thief of Paradise ; him long of old  
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605  
 With all his army, now thou hast aveng'd  
 Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing

Temptation,

success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetic decorum.  
*Thyer.*

596. *True Image of the Father, &c.]*

*Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.*

All the poems that ever were written, must yield, even Paradise Lost must yield to Regain'd in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terror, on this full proof of his being that very Son

of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth establish'd, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the temptation ; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter.  
*Calton.*

600. — *whatever place, Habit, or state, or motion,]* Probably not without allusion to Horace Ep. I. XVII. 23.

*Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.*

605. *Thou didst debel]* *Debellare superbos.* Virg. *Æn.* VI. 853.



Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise ;  
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent :  
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610  
 In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke :  
 For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,  
 A fairer Paradise is founded now  
 For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou  
 A Saviour art come down to re-install 615  
 Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,  
 Of

619. — *like an autumnal star*  
*Or lightning* ] The poet does  
 here, as in other places, imitate  
 profane authors and Scripture both  
 together. *Like an autumnal star*,  
*ΑΣΤΗΡ ΟΠΩΣΙΩΝ ΙΣΑΛΙΣΙΩΝ.* Iliad. V.  
 5. *Or like lightning fall from*  
*Heaven*, Luke X. 18. *I beheld Sa-*  
*tan as lightning fall from Heaven.*

624. *Abaddon* ] The name of the  
 Angel of the bottomless pit. Rev.  
 IX. 11. Here applied to the bot-  
 tomless pit itself. In this conclud-  
 ing hymn of the Angels, the poet  
 has taken some pains, to show the  
 fitness and propriety of giving the  
 name of Paradise Regain'd to so  
 confin'd a subject, as our Saviour's  
 temptation. Confin'd as the subject  
 was, I make no question that he  
 thought the Paradise Regain'd an  
 epic poem as well as the Paradise  
 Lost. For in his invocation he un-  
 dertakes

— to tell of deeds  
 Above heroic :

and he had no notion that an epic  
 poem must of necessity be formed  
 after the example of Homer, and  
 according to the precepts of Ari-  
 stotle. In the introduction to the  
 second book of his *Reason of Church-*  
*Government* he thus delivers his sen-  
 timents. " Time serves not now,  
 " and perhaps I might seem too  
 " profuse to give any certain ac-  
 " count of what the mind at home,  
 " in the spacious circuits of her  
 " musing, hath liberty to propose  
 " to herself, though of highest  
 " hope, and hardest attempting ;  
 " whether that epic form whereof  
 " the two poems of Homer, and  
 " those other two of Virgil and  
 " Tasso are a diffuse, and the book  
 " of Job a brief model : or whe-  
 " ther the rules of Aristotle here-  
 " in are strictly to be kept, or na-  
 " ture to be followed, which in  
 " them that know art, and use  
 " judgment, is no transgression, but  
 " an enriching of art." We see  
 that

Of Tempter and temptation without fear.  
 But thou, infernal Serpent, shalt not long  
 Rule in the clouds ; like an autumnal star  
 Or lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n, trod down  
 Under his feet : for proof, ere this thou feel'st 621  
 Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound,  
 By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell  
 No triumph ; in all her gates Abaddon rues  
 Thy bold attempt ; hereafter learn with awe 625  
 To

that he look'd upon the book of Job, as a brief model of an epic poem : and the subject of Paradise Regain'd is much the same as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation : and the greatest part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that season of life, and better suited Milton's age and infirmities than gay florid descriptions. For by Mr. Elwood's account, he had not thought of the Paradise Regain'd, till after he had finish'd the Paradise Lost : (See the Life of Milton) the first hint of it was suggested by Elwood, while Milton resided at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire during the plague in London ; and afterwards when Elwood visited him in London, he show'd him the poem finish'd, so that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing it :

and this is the reason why in the Paradise Regain'd there are much fewer imitations of, and allusions to other authors, than in the Paradise Lost. The Paradise Lost he was long in meditating, and had laid in a large stock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern : but in the Paradise Regain'd he composed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than such as naturally occurred to a mind so thoroughly tinctor'd and season'd, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the same observation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few allusions, says he, to the Italian poets in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty conclusive argument for the reality of those pointed out in the notes upon Paradise Lost, and show that they are not, as some may imagin, mere accidental coincidences

To dread the Son of God : he all unarm'd  
 Shall chace thee with the terror of his voice  
 From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,  
 Thee and thy legions ; yelling they shall fly,  
 And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,

630

Left

dences of great geniuses writing upon similar subjects. Admitting them to be such only, no tolerable reason can be assign'd why the same should not occur in the same manner in the *Paradise Regain'd* : whereas upon the other supposition of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this respect is easily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton form'd his first design of writing an epic poem very soon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he says, speaking of this design in his *Reason of Church-Government*, that " he  
 " apply'd himself to that resolu-  
 " tion which Ariosto follow'd a-  
 " gainst the persuasions of Bembo,  
 " to fix all the art and industry he  
 " could unite to the adorning of  
 " his native tongue" — and again that he was then meditating " what  
 " king or knight before the Con-  
 " quest might be chosen in whom  
 " to lay the pattern of a Christian  
 " hero, as Tasso gave to a prince  
 " of Italy his choice, whether he  
 " would command him to write of  
 " Godfrey's expedition against the  
 " Infidels, or Belisarius against the

" Goths, or Charlemain against  
 " the Lombards." This would nat-  
 urally lead him to a frequent pe-  
 rusal of the choicest wits of that  
 country ; and altho' he dropt his  
 first scheme, and was some confi-  
 derable time before he executed  
 the present work, yet still the im-  
 pressions he had first receiv'd would  
 be fresh in his imagination, and he  
 would of course be drawn to imi-  
 tate their particular beauties, tho'  
 he avoided following them in his  
 general plan. The case was far  
 otherwise when the *Paradise Re-  
 gain'd* was compos'd. As Mr. El-  
 wood informs us, Milton did not so  
 much as think of it till he was ad-  
 vanced in years, and it is not very  
 likely, considering the troubles and  
 infirmities he had long labor'd un-  
 der, that his studies had been much  
 employ'd about that time among  
 the sprightly Italians, or indeed any  
 writers of that turn. Consistent  
 with this supposition we find it of a  
 quite different stamp, and instead  
 of allusions to poets either ancient  
 or modern, it is full of moral and  
 philosophical reasonings, to which  
 sort of thoughts an afflicted old  
 age must have turned our author's  
 mind.



Left he command them down into the deep  
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.

Hail Son of the most high, heir of both worlds,

Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work

Now enter, and begin to save mankind.

635

Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek  
Sung victor, and from heav'nly feast refresh'd  
Brought on his way with joy ; he unobserv'd  
Home to his mother's house private return'd.

THE END.

)







J. Hayman del.

C. G. Smith sculp.

# SAMSON AGONISTES,

A

DRAMATIC POEM.

The AUTHOR

*JOHN MILTON.*

Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6.

*Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, &c.*

Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriæ, &c. per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

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Of that sort of Dramatic Poem which is called Tragedy.

**T**RAGEDY, as it was anciently compos'd, hath been ever held the graveſt, moraleſt, and moſt profitable of all other poems: therefore ſaid by Aristotle to be of power by raiſing pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of thoſe and ſuch like paſſions, that is, to temper and reduce them to juſt meaſure with a kind of delight, ſtirr'd up by reading or ſeeing thoſe paſſions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his aſſertion: for ſo in phyſic things of melancholic hue and quality are us'd againſt melancholy, ſour againſt ſour, ſalt to remove ſalt humors. Hence philoſophers and other graveſt writers, as Cicero, Plutarch and others, frequently cite out of tragic poets, both to adorn and illuſtrate their diſcourſe. The Apoſtle Paul himſelf thought it not unworthy to inſert \* a verſe of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, 1 Cor. XV. 33. and Paræus commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole book as a tragedy, into acts diſtinguiſh'd each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and ſong between. Heretofore men in high eſt dignity have labor'd not a little to be thought able to compoſe a tragedy. Of that honor Dionyſius the elder was no leſs ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Auguſtus Cæſar alſo had begun his Ajax, but unable to pleaſe his own judgment with what he had begun, left it unfiniſh'd. Seneca the philoſopher is by ſome thought the author of thoſe tragedies (at leaſt the beſt of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbefitting the ſanctity of his

\* *a verſe of Euripides*] The verſe here quoted is *Evil communications corrupt good manners*: but I am inclin'd to think that Milton is miſtaken in calling it a verſe of *Euripides*; for Jerome and Grotius (who publiſh'd the fragments of Menander) and the beſt commentators, ancient and modern, ſay that it is tak-

en from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of Menander. p. 79. Le Clerc's Edit.

Φθιμεν ηδη χειρ' ομιλίας κακας.

Such ſlips of memory may be found ſometimes in the beſt writers. As we obſerved before, Diodorus Siculus cites Eupolis inſtead of Ariſtophanes.

perſon

person to write a tragedy, which is intitl'd *Christ suffering*. This is mention'd to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; hap'ning through the poets error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And though ancient tragedy use no prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defense, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epistle; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be epistled; that chorus is here introduc'd after the Greek manner, not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians. In the modeling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather follow'd, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse us'd in the chorus is of all sorts, call'd by the Greeks Monostrophic, or rather Apolelymenon, without regard had to Strophe, Antistrophe, or Epod, which were a kind of stanza's fram'd only for the music, then us'd with the chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or being divided into stanza's or pauses, they may be call'd Allæostropha. Division into act and scene referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produc'd beyond the fifth act. Of the stile and uniformity, and that commonly call'd the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such œconomy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum; they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragic poets unequal'd yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavor to write tragedy. The circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of 24 hours.

THE

## THE ARGUMENT.

Samson made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labor as in a common work-house, on a festival day, in the general cessation from labor, comes forth into the open air to a place nigh, somewhat retir'd, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can ; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavors the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom ; lastly, that this feast was proclaimed by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to prosecute his endeavor with the Philistian lords for Samson's redemption ; who in the mean while is visited by other persons ; and lastly by a public officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence ; he at first refuses, dismissing the public officer with absolute denial to come ; at length persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatnings to fetch him : the Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his son's deliverance ; in the midst of which discourse an Hebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterward more distinctly relating the catastrophe, what Samson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself ; wherewith the tragedy ends.



## **THE PERSONS.**

**SAMSON.**

**MANOAH, the Father of Samson.**

**DALILA, his Wife.**

**HARAPHA of Gath.**

**Public Officer.**

**Messenger.**

**Chorus of Danites.**

**The SCENE before the Prison in Gaza.**

## SAMSON AGONISTES.

## SAMSON.

**A** Little onward lend thy guiding hand  
 To these dark steps, a little further on ;  
 For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade :  
 There I am wont to sit, when any chance  
 Relieves me from my task of servile toil, 5  
 Daily' in the common prison else injoin'd me,  
 Where I a prisoner chain'd, scarce freely draw  
 The air imprison'd also, close and damp,  
 Unwholesome draught : but here I feel amends,  
 The

*Samson Agonistes*] The subject but a very indifferent one for a dramatic fable. However he has made the best of it. He seems to have chosen it for the sake of the satire on bad wives. *Warburton.*

*Samson Agonistes*] That is Samson an actor, Samson represented in a play. *Αγωνιστης*, ludio, histrion, actor scenicus.

*Samson*] Milton after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he professes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of its principal personages explaining the story upon which it is founded.

*Thyer.*

1. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*

*To these dark steps.*] So Tiresias in Euripides, *Phæniſſæ* ver. 841.

*Ηγὺς προπαροῖσα θυγατρί, ὡς τυφλῶ παδὶ &c.* *Richardson.*

3. *For yonder bank*] The scene of this tragedy is much the same as that of the *Οἰδύπης ἐπὶ κολωνῷ* in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner, and represented sitting upon a little hill near Athens : but yet I think there is scarcely a single thought the same in the two pieces, and I am sure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be esteemed better, but only because it is two thousand years older.

The breath of Heav'n fresh blowing, pure and sweet,  
 With day-spring born ; here leave me to respire. 11  
 This day a solemn feast the people hold  
 To Dagon their sea-idol, and forbid  
 Laborious works ; unwillingly this rest  
 Their superstition yields me ; hence with leave 15  
 Retiring from the popular noise, I seek  
 This unfrequented place to find some ease,  
 Ease to the body some, none to the mind  
 From restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm  
 Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20  
 But rush upon me thronging, and present  
 Times past, what once I was, and what am now.  
 O wherefore was my birth from Heav'n foretold  
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in fight  
 Of both my parents all in flames ascended 25  
 From

13. *To Dagon their sea-idol,*] For Milton both here and in the *Paradise Lost* follows the opinion of those, who describe this idol as part man, part fish. l. 462.

Dagon his name, sea monster,  
 upward man  
 And downward fish.

24. *Twice by an Angel,*] Once to his mother, and again to his father Mr. noah and his mother born,

and the second time the Angel ascended in the flame of the altar. Judges XIII. 3. 11, 20.

28. — *and from some great act,*] Mr. Symphon says that the true reading is

— *as from some great act :*

but the poet would hardly say *As* in a fiery column &c *as* from some great act &c; and therefore we may retain *and*, and *as* may be understood



From off the altar, where an offering burn'd,  
 As in a fiery column charioting  
 His god-like presence, and from some great act  
 Or benefit reveal'd to Abraham's race?  
 Why was my breeding order'd and prescrib'd 30  
 As of a person separate to God,  
 Design'd for great exploits; if I must die  
 Betray'd, captiv'd, and both my eyes put out,  
 Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze;  
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35  
 With this Heav'n-gifted strength? O glorious strength  
 Put to the labor of a beast, debas'd  
 Lower than bondslave! Promise was that I  
 Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver;  
 Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him 40  
 Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,

Himself

stood tho' not express'd *As in a fiery column charioting &c, and as from some great act &c.*

33. *Betray'd, captiv'd,*] It should be pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable, as afterwards ver. 694.

To dogs and fowls a prey, or else *captiv'd*.

I think we commonly pronounce it with the accent upon the first

syllable *captiv'd*: but our old authors give it the same pronunciation as Milton. Spenser. Faery Queen. B. 2. Cant. 4. St. 16.

Thus when as Guyon Furor had *captiv'd*:

and B. 3. Cant. 1. St. 2.

But the *captiv'd* Acrasia he sent: and Fairfax Cant. 19. S. 95.

Free was Erminia, but *captiv'd* her heart.

P 3

53. But

Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke :  
 Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt  
 Divine prediction ; what if all foretold  
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default,  
 Whom have I to complain of but myself ? 46  
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,  
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,  
 Under the seal of silence could not keep,  
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50  
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.  
 O impotence of mind, in body strong !  
 But what is strength without a double share  
 Of wisdom, vast, unwieldy, burdensome,  
 Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55  
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,  
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command !  
 God, when he gave me strength, to show withal  
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.  
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60  
 Of

53. *But what is strength without  
 a double share*

*Of wisdom, &c.] Ovid. Met. XIII.*

363.

*Tu vires sine mente geris —  
 — tu tantum corpore prodes,*

*Nos animo; quantoque ratem qui  
 temperat &c. Jortin.*

*Hor. Od. III. IV. 65.*

*Vis consilij expers mole ruit sua.  
 Richardson.*

*69.—or*

Of highest dispensation, which herein  
 Haply had ends above my reach to know:  
 Suffices that to me strength is my bane,  
 And proves the source of all my miseries;  
 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65  
 Would ask a life to wail, but chief of all,  
 O loss of fight, of thee I most complain!  
 Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,  
 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age!  
 Light the prime work of God to me' is extinct, 70  
 And all her various objects of delight  
 Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,  
 Inferior to the vilest now become  
 Of man or worm; the vilest here excel me,  
 They creep, yet see, I dark in light expos'd 75  
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong,  
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,  
 In pow'r of others, never in my own;  
 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.

O

69. — *or decrepit age!*] So it is printed in the first edition; the latter editors have omitted *or*, concluding I suppose that it made the verse a syllable too long. Mr. Calton proposes to read

— *beggery in decrepit age!*

Want join'd to the weaknesses of helpless age, says he, would render it a very real misery.



O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon, 80

Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse

Without all hope of day !

O first created beam, and thou great Word,

Let there be light, and light was over all ;

Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree ? 85

The sun to me is dark

And silent as the moon,

When she deserts the night

Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

Since light so necessary is to life, 90

And almost life itself, if it be true

That

87. *And silent as the moon, &c*] There cannot be a better note on this passage than what Mr. Warburton has written on this verse of Shakespear 2 Henry VI. Act I. Sc. 8.

Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night.

*The silent of the night* is a classical expression, and means an interlunar night — *amica silentia lunæ*. So Pliny, *Inter omnes verò convenit, utilissime in coitu ejus sterni, quem diem alii interlunii, alii silentis lunæ appellant.* Lib. 16. cap. 39. In imitation of this language, Milton says,

The sun to me is dark,

*And silent as the moon,  
When she deserts the night  
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.*

89. *Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.*] *Silens luna* is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the sun. Plin. 1. Lib. 16. c. 39. The interlunar cave is here called *vacant*, quia luna ibi vacat opere et ministerio suo, because the moon is idle, and useless, and makes no return of light.

*Meadowcourt.*

Alluding, I suppose to the same notion, which he has adopted from Hesiod in his *Paradise Lost*. VI. 4.

— There is a cave  
Within the mount of God, fast  
by his throne,

Where

That light is in the soul,  
 She all in every part ; why was the fight  
 To such a tender ball as th' eye confin'd,  
 So obvious and so easy to be quench'd ? 95  
 And not as feeling through all parts diffus'd,  
 That she might look at will through every pore ?  
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,  
 As in the land of darkness, yet in light,  
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100  
 And bury'd ; but O yet more miserable !  
 Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave,  
 Bury'd, yet not exempt

By

Where light and darkness in perpetual round  
 Lodge and dislodge by turns.  
 See the note on this place. *Thyer.*

90. *Since light so necessary is to life, &c.]* This intermixing of his philosophy very much weakens the force and pathos of Samson's complaint, which in the main is excellent, but I think not altogether so fine as the poet's lamentation of his own blindness at the beginning of the third book of the *Paradise Lost* ; so much better does every body write from his own feeling and experience, than when he imagines only what another would say upon the same occasion.

100. *To live a life half dead, a*

*living death,]* The same thought occurs in the following passage of Euripides, Supp. 966.

Και νυν απαις, ατινη  
 Γηρασχω δυσηροτατο,  
 Ουτ' εν τοις φθιμενοις,  
 Ουτ' εν ζωσι αρθρουμενη,  
 Χωρις δη τια τωδ' ισχυσα μαι-  
 ραν.

So also in Sophocles, Antig. 1283.

— τας γαρ ηδυνας  
 'Οταν προδωσω ανδρες, η τιδημ' εγω  
 Ζην τωτον, αλλ' επιψυχον ηγα-  
 μαι νεκρον. *Thyer.*

102. *Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave,]* This thought is not very

By privilege of death and burial  
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs, 105  
 But made hereby obnoxious more  
 To all the miseries of life,  
 Life in captivity  
 Among inhuman foes.  
 But who are these? for with joint pace I hear 110  
 The tread of many feet steering this way;  
 Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare  
 At my affliction, and perhaps t' insult,  
 Their daily practice to afflict me more.

## CHORUS.

This, this is he; softly a while, 115  
 Let us not break in upon him;  
 O change beyond report, thought, or belief!  
 See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,  
 With languish'd head unpropt,

As

very unlike that of Gorgias Le-  
 ontinus, who called vultures *living*  
*sepulchres*, γυναι; ἀψυχῶν τῶντοι,  
 for which he incurred the in-  
 dignation of Longinus; whether  
 justly or no I shall not say.

Jortin.

111. — *steering this way*;] If  
 this be the right reading, the meta-  
 phor is extremely hard and abrupt.

A common man would have said  
*bearing this way.* Warburton.

118. *See how he lies at random,*  
*carelessly diffus'd.*] This beauti-  
 ful application of the word *diffus'd*  
 Milton has borrow'd from the  
 Latins. So Ovid ex Ponto, III.

III. 7.

Publica me requies curarum som-  
 nus habebat,

Fusaque



As one past hope, abandon'd, 120  
 And by himself given over ;  
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds  
 O'er-worn and soil'd ;  
 Or do my eyes misrepresent ? Can this be he,  
 That heroic, that renown'd, 125  
 Irresistible Sampson ? whom unarm'd  
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast could  
 withstand ;  
 Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid,  
 Ran on imbattel'd armies clad in iron,  
 And weaponless himself, 130  
 Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery  
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd cuirass,  
 Chaly'bean temper'd steel, and frock of mail  
 Adamantean proof ;  
 But safest he who stood aloof, 135  
 When

*Fusque erant toto languida  
 membra toro. Thyer.*

133. *Chaly'bean temper'd steel,*  
 That is, the best temper'd steel by  
 the *Chalybes*, who were famous  
 among the Ancients for their iron  
 works. Virg. Georg. I. 58.

At Chalybes nudi ferrum —  
 The adjective should be pronounc'd

*Chalybian* with the third syllable  
 long according to Heinſius's read-  
 ing of that verse of Ovid. Fast. IV.  
 405.

*Æs erat in pretio : Chalybeia  
 massa latebat :*

but Milton makes it short by the  
 same poetical liberty, with which  
 he had before us'd *Ægran* for  
*Ægian*, and *Thyſſean* for *Thyſſian*.  
 136. *Wher*

When insupportably his foot advanc'd,  
 In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,  
 Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold Ascalonite  
 Fled from his lion ramp, old warriors turn'd  
 Their plated backs under his heel; 140  
 Or growling soil'd their crested helmets in the dust.  
 Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,  
 The jaw of a dead ass, his sword of bone,  
 A thousand fore-skins fell, the flow'r of Palestine, 144  
 In Ramath-lechi famous to this day.  
 Then by main force pull'd up, and on his shoulders  
 The gates of Azza, post, and massy bar,  
 Up to the hill by Hebron, seat of giants old,

No

136. *When insupportably his foot advanc'd,*] For this nervous expression Milton was probably indebted to the following lines of Spenser. *Faery Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 11.

That when the knight he spy'd,  
 he 'gan advance  
 With huge force, and insupportable main. *Thyer.*

138. *The bold Ascalonite*] The inhabitant of *Ascalon*, one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, mention'd 1. Sam. VI. 17.

145. *In Ramath-lechi famous to this day:*] Judges XV. 17.—

*he cast away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and called that place Ramath-lechi, that is, the lifting up of the jaw-bone, or casting away of the jaw-bone, as it is render'd in the margin of our bibles.*

147. *The gates of Azza.*] If the poet did not think the alliteration too great, he possibly would have wrote

*The gates of Gaza.*

So he does within six lines of the end of this play,

— whence *Gaza* mourns.

I can't help remarking the great difference

No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so ;  
 Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.  
 Which shall I first bewail 151  
 Thy bondage or lost fight,  
 Prison within prison  
 Inseparably dark ?  
 Thou art become (O worst imprisonment !) 155  
 The dungeon of thyself ; thy soul [plain)  
 (Which men enjoying fight oft without cause com-  
 Imprison'd now indeed,  
 In real darkness of the body dwells,  
 Shut up from outward light 160  
 T' incorporate with gloomy night ;  
 For

difference there is betwixt Ben Johnson's Chorus's, and our author's. Old Ben's are of a poor similar regular contexture ; our author's truly Grecian, and noble, diversified with all the measures our language and poetry are capable of, and I am afraid not to be read in the manner Milton design'd them. *Symphon.*

147. — *post, and maffy bar,*] Mr. Meadowcourt proposes to read *posts*, as being more conformable to Scripture, Judg. XVI. 3. *And Samson lay till midnight, and arose at midnight, and took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts,*

*and went away with them, bar and all :* and *posts* is certainly better on this account, but perhaps Milton might prefer *post* as somewhat of a softer sound.

148. — *Hebron, seat of giants old,*] For Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, and the seat of the Anakims. Josh. XV. 13, 14. And the Anakims were giants, which come of the giants. Numb. XIII. 33.

157. — *oft without cause complain*] So Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old erratum *complain'd*.



For inward light alas  
 Puts forth no visual beam.  
 O mirror of our fickle state,  
 Since man on earth unparallel'd !  
 The rarer thy example stands,  
 By how much from the top of wondrous glory,  
 Strongest of mortal men,  
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fall'n.  
 For him I reckon not in high estate  
 Whom long descent of birth  
 Or the sphere of fortune raises ;  
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her mate,  
 Might have subdued the earth,

165

170

Universally

162. *For inward light alas*  
*Puts forth no visual beam.*] The  
 expression is fine, and means the  
*ray of light*, which occasions *vision*.  
 Mr. Pope borrow'd the expression  
 in one of his juvenile poems,

He from thick films shall purge  
 the *visual ray*,  
 And on the sightless eye-ball pour  
 the day.

Either he mistook his original, and  
 supposed Milton meant by *visual*  
*ray* the *sight*, or at least thought  
 himself at liberty to use it in that  
 highly figurative sense. See what  
 is said on the passage in the last edi-  
 tion of Mr. Pope's works.

Warburton.

172. *Or the sphere of fortune*  
*raises ;*] Fortune is painted on  
 a globe, which by her influences  
 is in a perpetual rotation on its  
 axis. Warburton.

178. *He speaks,*] We have fol-  
 low'd Milton's own edition ; most  
 of the others have it *He spake*.

181. *From Eshtaol and Zora's*  
*fruitful vale*] These were two  
 towns of the tribe of Dan. Josh.  
 XIX. 41. the latter the birth-place  
 of Samson Judg. XIII. 2. and  
 they were near one another. *And*  
*the Spirit of the Lord began to move*  
*him at times in the camp of Dan be-*  
*tween Zorah and Eshtaol*, Judg.  
 XIII. 25. And they were both  
 situated in the valley, Josh. XV. 33.  
 and

# SAMSON AGONISTES.

223

Universally crown'd with highest praises.

175

SAMSON.

I hear the sound of words, their sense the air  
Dissolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

CHORUS.

He speaks, let us draw nigh. Matchless in might,  
The glory late of Israel, now the grief;  
We come thy friends and neighbours not unknown  
From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale

181

To visit or bewail thee, or if better,  
Counsel or consolation we may bring,  
Salve to thy sores; apt words have pow'r to swage  
The tumors of a troubled mind,

185

And

and therefore the poet with great exactness says *Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale*.

182. *To visit or bewail thee,*] The poet dictated

To visit and bewail thee :

The purpose of their visit was to bewail him; or if better, (that is if they found it more proper) to advise or comfort him. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vel-  
lent, [See above ver. 112. *to stare at my affliction*] et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent. Corn. Nepos in vita Eumenis. Calton.

184. — apt words have pow'r to swage &c.] Alluding to these lines in Æschylus. Prom. Vinct. 377.

Ουκην Προμηθευ τυτο γνωσκεις οτι

Οργης ιουσης εισιν ιατροι λογοι.

Or to this passage in Menander.

Λογος γαρ εις λυπης φαρμακον μοιον. Thyer.

Or perhaps to Horace, Epist. I. I. 34.

Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
Possis, et magnam morbi depo-  
nere partem.

195. Yet

And are as balm to fester'd wounds.

SAMSON.

Your coming, Friends, revives me, for I learn  
 Now of my own experience, not by talk,  
 How counterfeit a coin they are who friends  
 Bear in their superscription, (of the most 190  
 I would be understood) in prosp'rous days  
 They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,  
 Not to be found though sought. Ye see, O Friends,  
 How many evils have inclos'd me round ; 194  
 Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,  
 Blindness, for had I fight, confus'd with shame,  
 How could I once look up, or heave the head,  
 Who like a foolish pilot have shipwrack'd

My

195. *Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,*] There is no inconsistency in this with what he had said before ver. 66.

— but chief of all,  
 O loss of sight, of thee I most complain.

When he was by himself, he consider'd his blindness as the *worst* of evils ; but *now*, upon his friends coming in and seeing him in this wretched condition, it *least afflicts me*, says he, as being some cover to his shame and confusion.

210. *Tax not di-vine disposal ; &c]*  
 As this whole play, so particularly

the part of the Chorus is written in the very spirit of the Ancients, and is formed exactly according to the precepts of Horace. *De Arte Poet.* 193.

*Actoris partes Chorus, officium-  
 que virile  
 Defendat ; neu quid medios in-  
 tercinat actus,  
 Quod non proposito conducatur et  
 hæreat apte.  
 Ille bonis faveatque, et concilie-  
 tur amicis ;  
 Et regat iratos, et amet pacare  
 tumentes :*

He



My vessel trusted to me from above,  
 Gloriously rigg'd ; and for a word, a tear, 200  
 Fool, have divulg'd the secret gift of God  
 To a deceitful woman ? tell me, Friends,  
 Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool  
 In every street ? do they not say, how well  
 Are come upon him his deserts ? yet why ? 205  
 Immeasurable strength they might behold  
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean ;  
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,  
 These two proportion'd ill drove me transverse.

CHORUS.

Tax not divine disposal ; wisest men 210  
 Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd ;

And

*Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis ;  
 ille salubrem  
 Justitiam, legesque, et apertis  
 otia portis :  
 Ille tegat commissâ, Deosque  
 precetur et oret,  
 Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna  
 superbis.*

The Chorus must support an ac-  
 tor's part ;  
 Defend the virtuous, and advise  
 with art ;  
 Govern the choleric, the proud  
 appease,  
 And the short feasts of frugal  
 tables praise ;

V O L. I.

The laws and justice of well-  
 govern'd states,  
 And peace triumphant with her  
 open gates.  
 Intrusted secrets let them ne'er  
 betray,  
 But to the righteous Gods with  
 ardor pray,  
 That fortune with returning  
 smiles may bless  
 Afflicted worth, and impious  
 pride depress.  
 Yet let their songs with apt co-  
 herence join,  
 Promote the plot, and aid the  
 main design.

*Francis.*

Q

Such

And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.  
 Deject not then so overmuch thyself,  
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides ;  
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215  
 Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather  
 Than of thy own tribe fairer, or as fair,  
 At least of thy own nation, and as noble.

## SAMSON.

The first I saw at Timna, and she pleas'd  
 Me, not my parents, that I sought to wed 220  
 The daughter of an infidel : they knew not  
 That what I motion'd was of God ; I knew  
 From intimate impulse, and therefore urg'd  
 The marriage on ; that by occasion hence  
 I might begin Israel's deliverance, 225  
 The work to which I was divinely call'd.  
 She proving false, the next I took to wife  
 (O that I never had ! fond wish too late,)

Was

Such is the character and office of the Chorus, as prescrib'd by this great critic and poet, and it was never exemplified more fully than in the Chorus of Milton.

216. — *Philistian women rather*] So it is printed in Milton's own edition, and *woman* is a mistake of the other editions ; for more than one are mention'd afterwards. *The*

*first I saw at Timna* &c. ver. 219.  
*the next I took to wife* &c. ver. 227.

219. *The first I saw at Timna,*] Judg. XIV. 1. *And Samson went down to Timnath, and saw a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines.* &c.

222. *That what I motion'd was of God ;*] It was printed *motion'd* which is sense indeed, but Milton

Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,  
 That specious monster, my accomplish'd snare. 230  
 I thought it lawful from my former act,  
 And the same end; still watching to oppress  
 Israel's oppressors: of what now I suffer  
 She was not the prime cause, but I myself,  
 Who vanquish'd with a peal of words (O weakriess!)  
 Gave up my fort of silence to a woman. '236

CHORUS.

In seeking just occasion to provoke  
 The Philistine, thy country's enemy,  
 Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness:  
 Yet Israël still serves with all his sons. 240

SAMSON.

That fault I take not on me, but transfer  
 On Israel's governors, and heads of tribes,  
 Who seeing those great acts, which God had done  
 Singly by me against their conquerors,

Acknow-

Milton himself in the table of Errata substituted *motion'd* which is better: but the first error hath still prevailed in all the editions.

229. *Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,*] Judg. XVI. 4. *And it came to pass afterward, that he loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Dalilah,* &c.

230. — *my accomplish'd snare.*]

There seems to be a quibble in the use of this epithet. Warburton.

241. *That fault &c.*] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Restoration of Charles II, which he accounted the restoration of slavery, and with the execution of the Regicides. He pursues the same sub-



Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd 245  
 Deliverance offer'd : I on th' other side  
 Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds, [doer ;  
 The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the  
 But they persisted deaf, and would not seem 249  
 To count them things worth notice, till at length  
 Their lords the Philistines with gather'd pow'rs  
 Enter'd Judea seeking me, who then  
 Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd,  
 Not flying, but forecasting in what place  
 To set upon them, what advantag'd best : 255  
 Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent  
 The harrafs of their land, beset me round ;  
 I willingly on some conditions came  
 Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me  
 To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260  
 Bound with two cords ; but cords to me were threds  
 Touch'd with the flame : on their whole host I flew  
 Unarm'd,

jest again 678 to 700. I wonder  
 how the licensers of those days let  
 it pass.

*Jortin.*

247. *Us'd no ambition*] Going a-  
 bout with studiousness and affecta-  
 tion to gain praise, as Mr. Richard-  
 son says, alluding to the origin of  
 the word in Latin.

253. *Safe to the rock of Etham*  
*was retir'd, &c]* Judg. XV. 8.

*And he went down, and dwelt in the  
 top of the rock Etam. Then the Phi-  
 listines went up, and pitched in Ju-  
 dah &c.*

268. *But what more oft in nations  
 grown corrupt, &c]* Here Mr.  
 Thyer has anticipated me by ob-  
 serving that Milton is very uniform,  
 as well as just, in his notions of li-  
 berty, always attributing the loss  
 of

Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd  
 Their choicest youth ; they only liv'd who fled.  
 Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe, 265  
 They had by this possess'd the tow'rs of Gath,  
 And lorded over them whom now they serve :  
 But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,  
 And by their vices brought to servitude,  
 Than to love bondage more than liberty, 270  
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty ;  
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect  
 Whom God hath of his special favor rais'd  
 As their deliverer ; if he ought begin,  
 How frequent to desert him, and at last 275  
 To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds ?

CHORUS.

Thy words to my remembrance bring  
 How Succoth and the fort of Penuel  
 Their great deliverer contemn'd,

The

of it to vice and corruption of morals : but in this passage he very probably intended also a secret satire upon the English nation, which according to his republican politics had by restoring the King chosen *bondage with ease* rather than *strenuous liberty*. And let me add that the sentiment is very like that of *Æmilius Lepidus* the consul in his

oration to the Roman people against Sulla, preserved among the fragments of Sallust — *annuite legibus impositis ; accipite otium cum servitio ; — but for myself — potior visa est periculosa libertas, quieto servitio.*

278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penuel &c]* The men of Succoth and of the tower of Penuel refused

The matchless Gideon in pursuit 280  
 Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings :  
 And how ingrateful Ephraim  
 Had dealt with Jephtha,, who by argument,  
 Not worse than by his shield and spear,  
 Defended Israel from the Ammonite, 285  
 Had not his prowess quell'd their pride  
 In that fore battel, when so many dy'd  
 Without reprieve adjudg'd to death,  
 For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.

SAMSON.

Of such examples add me to the roll, 290  
 Me easily indeed mine may neglect,  
 But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

CHORUS.

Just are the ways of God,  
 And justifiable to men ;

Unless

sted to give loaves of bread to Gideon and his three hundred men pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna kings of Midian. See Judg. VII. 4-9.

282 *And how ingrateful Ephraim &c.* Jephtha subdued the children of Ammon ; and he is said to have defended Israel by argument not worse than by arms on account of the message which he sent unto the king

of the children of Ammon. Judg. XI. 15- 27. For his victory over the Ammonites the Ephraimites envied and quarrel'd with him ; and threaten'd to burn his house with fire : but Jephthah and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, and took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites, and there slew those of them who could not rightly pronounce the word *Shibboleth*, and there fell at that



SAMSON AGONISTES. 231

Unless there be who think not God at all : 295

If any be, they walk obscure ;

For of such doctrine never was there school,

But the heart of the fool,

And no man therein doctor but himself. 299

Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,

As to his own edicts found contradicting,

Then give the reigns to wandering thought,

Regardless of his glory's diminution ;

Till by their own perplexities involv'd

They ravel more, still less resolv'd, 305

But never find self-satisfying solution.

As if they would confine th' Interminable,

And tie him to his own prescript,

Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,

And hath full right t'exempt 310

Whom so it pleases him by choice

From

that time two and forty thousand of them. See Judg. XII. 1—6.

298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to Psal. XIV. 1. and the sentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine. " *The fool* " *hath said in his heart, There is no* " *God :* and who but a fool would " *have said so ?* "

299. *And no man therein doctor* " *but himself.* ] There is some-

thing rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it appears the worse, as this speech of the Chorus is of so serious a nature, and fill'd with so many deep and solemn truths. *Thy.*

303. *Regardless of his glory's diminution ;* ] This expression is strong as anciently understood. Cicero de Orat. II. 39. *Majestatem pop. Rom. minuisse* is the same as *crimen*

232 SAMSON AGONISTES.

From national obstriction, without taint  
Of sin, or legal debt ;  
For with his own laws he can best dispense.

He would not else who never wanted means, 315  
Nor in respect of th' enemy just cause  
To set his people free,  
Have prompted this heroic Nazarite,  
Against his vow of strictest purity,  
To seek in marriage that fallacious bride, 320  
Unclean, unchaste.

Down reason then, at least vain reasonings down,  
Though reason here aver  
That moral verdict quits her of unclean :  
Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325

But see here comes thy reverend Sir  
With careful step, locks white as down,  
Old Manoah : advise

Forth-

men læsæ majestatis. Corn. Nepos  
Agel. 4. religionem minuere is violare.  
Richardson.

319. — *vow of strictest purity,*]  
Not a vow of celibacy, but of  
strictest purity from Mosaic and  
legal uncleanness. Warburton.

324. *That moral verdict quits her  
of unclean :*] That is, By the  
law of nature a Philistian woman

was not unclean, yet the law of  
Moses held her to be so. I don't  
know why the poet thought fit to  
make his hero scepticize on a point,  
as irreconcilable to reason, which  
may be very well accounted for by  
the best rules of human prudence  
and policy. The institution of Mo-  
ses was to keep the Jewish people  
distinct and separate from the na-  
tions.

SAMSON AGONISTES. 233

Forthwith how thou oughtst to receive him.

SAMSON.

Ay me, another inward grief awak'd 330  
With mention of that name renews th' assault.

MANOAH.

Brethren and men of Dan, for such ye seem,  
Though in this uncouth place; if old respect,  
As I suppose, tow'ards your once glory'd friend,  
My son now captive, hither hath inform'd 335  
Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age  
Came lagging after; say if he be here.

CHORUS.

As signal now in low dejected state,  
As earst in high'est, behold him where he lies.

MANOAH.

O miserable change! is this the man, 340  
That invincible Samson, far renown'd,  
The

tions. This the lawgiver effected by a vast variety of means: one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal impurity; the best means of preventing intermarriages with them. Warburton.

336.—*while mine cast back with age*] This is very artfully and properly introduc'd, to account for the Chorus coming to Samson

before Manoah, for it is not to be supposed that any of his friends should be more concern'd for his welfare, or more desirous to visit him than his father.

340. *O miserable change! &c*] This speech of Manoah's is in my opinion very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly such as one may suppose would occur to the



The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength  
 Equivalent to Angels walk'd their streets,  
 None offering fight ; who single combatant  
 Duel'd their armies rank'd in proud array, 345  
 Himself an army, now unequal match  
 To save himself against a coward arm'd  
 At one spear's length. O ever failing trust  
 In mortal strength ! and oh what not in man  
 Deceivable and vain ? Nay what thing good 350  
 Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane ?

I

the mind of the old man, and are expressed with an earnestness and impatience very well suited to that anguish of mind he must be in at the sight of his son under such miserable afflicted circumstances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah to represent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this disposition of Heaven, in the first bitterness of his soul. Such sudden starts of infirmity are ascribed to some of the greatest personages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate natural passions and affections.

Thyer.

352. *I pray'd for children, and  
 thought barrenness*

*In wedlock a reproach ; ]* Some  
 lines from a fragment of Euripides

may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent.

Γυναί, φίλον μιν φίλῳ ἤλιον  
 τοῦδ',  
 Καλὸν δὲ ποιεῖ χεῖμα' ἰδεῖν ευ-  
 χέμεν,  
 Γητ' ἤριον θαλάσσης, πλεσίου δ'  
 ὕδατος  
 Πολλὰν τ' ἐπαινοῦν ἐστὶ μοι λείπει  
 καλῶν.  
 Ἀλλ' ὕδιν ὅτω λαμπρὸν, ὕδ' ἰδεῖν  
 καλόν,  
 Ὡς τοῖς ἀπαισι, καὶ πῶθ' δι-  
 δηγμένοις,  
 Παιδῶν νεότης ἐν δομοῖς ἰδεῖν  
 φασί.

Mulier, amicum solis hoc magni  
 jubar,  
 Dulce et tueri maria cum venti  
 silent :

Dulce

I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness  
 In wedlock a reproach ; I gain'd a son,  
 And such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;  
 Who would be now a father in my stead ? 355  
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,  
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd ?  
 Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt  
 Our earnest pray'rs, then giv'n with solemn hand  
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ? 560  
 For this did th' Angel twice descend ? for this  
 Ordain'd

Dulce est et amnis largus, et vernans humus :  
 Sunt aliis pulchra multa, quæ possum addere.  
 Sed crede nullum gratius spectaculum est,  
 Quam post querelas orbitatis tetricæ,  
 Conspicere florem liberum orientem domi.

Eurip. Barnes. p. 443. Calton.

354. *And such a son &c* ] It is very hard that the editors of Milton have never taken the pains to correct the errors of the first edition, which he had himself corrected. This verse at first was printed imperfect, and it has been follow'd in all the editions,

Such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;

*And was wanting in the beginning,*

*And such a son as all men hail'd me happy ;*

so Milton himself corrected it, and so Mr. Jortin and Mr. Symphon conjectur'd it should be read. And at the time of writing this, in all probability the author remember'd the happy father in Terence. *Andria* I. I. 69.

Cum id mihi placebat, tum uno ore omnes omnia  
 Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas meas,  
 Qui natum haberem tali ingenio præditum.

359. — *then giv'n with solemn band*

*As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind ?* ] He has rais'd this beautiful

236 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant  
 Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,  
 The miracle of men ; then in an hour  
 Insnar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365  
 Thy foes derision, captive, poor and blind,  
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves ?  
 Alas methinks whom God hath chosen once  
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,  
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370  
 Subject him to so foul indignities,  
 Be it but for honor's sake of former deeds.

SAMSON.

Appoint not heav'nly disposition, Father ;  
 Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me  
 But justly ; I myself have brought them on, 375  
 Sole author I, sole cause : if ought seem vile,  
 As vile hath been my folly, who' have profan'd  
 The mystery of God giv'n me under pledge  
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,  
 A Canaanite, my faithless enemy. 380  
 This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,

But

beautiful imagery on the following  
 text, Luke XI. 12. *If a son shall*  
*ask of his father an egg, will he offer*

*him a scorpion ? He was not always*  
*so happy. Warburton.*  
 373- *Appoint*] That is, arraign,  
 summon

summon  
 39  
 laws



# SAMSON AGONISTES.

237

But warn'd by oft experience : did not she  
 Of Timna first betray me, and reveal  
 The secret wrested from me in her highth  
 Of nuptial love profess'd, carrying it strait 385  
 To them who had corrupted her, my spies,  
 And rivals ? In this other was there found  
 More faith, who also in her prime of love,  
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,  
 Though offer'd only, by the sent conceiv'd 390  
 Her spurious first-born, treason against me ?  
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering pray'rs and sighs,  
 And amorous reproaches, to win from me  
 My capital secret, in what part my strength  
 Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might know;  
 Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport 396  
 Her importunity, each time perceiving  
 How openly, and with what impudence  
 She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse  
 Than undissembled hate) with what contempt 400  
 She fought to make me traitor to myself ;  
 Yet the fourth time, when must'ring all her wiles,  
 With

summon to answer. Warburton.

391.—*treason against me?*] By our laws called pettytreason. Richardson.

401. *She fought*] So it is in Milton's own edition; in most of the others *She thought*.

411.—O

238      SAMSON AGONISTES.

With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,  
 Tongue-batteries, she surceas'd not day nor night  
 To storm me over-watch'd, and weary'd out,      405  
 At times when men seek most repose and rest,  
 I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,  
 Who with a grain of manhood well resolv'd  
 Might easily have shook off all her snares :  
 But foul effeminacy held me yok'd      410  
 Her bond-slave ; O indignity, O blot  
 To honor and religion ! servile mind  
 Rewarded well with servile punishment !  
 The base degree to which I now am fall'n,  
 These rags, this grinding is not yet so base      415  
 As was my former servitude, ignoble,  
 Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,  
 True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,  
 That saw not how degenerately I serv'd.

MANOAH.

I cannot praise thy marriage choices, Son,      420  
 Rather

411.—*O indignity ! O blot &c]*  
 Nothing could give the reader a  
 better idea of a great and heroic  
 spirit in the circumstances of Sam-  
 son, than this sudden gust of in-  
 dignation and passionate self-re-

proach upon the mentioning of his  
 weakness. Besides there is some-  
 thing vastly grand and noble in his  
 reflection upon his present condi-  
 tion on this occasion,

These

Rather approv'd them not ; but thou didst plead  
 Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st  
 Find some occasion to infect our foes.

I state not that ; this I am sure, our foes  
 Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425  
 Their captive, and their triumph ; thou the sooner  
 Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms  
 To violate the sacred trust of silence  
 Deposited within thee ; which to have kept  
 Tacit, was in thy pow'r : true ; and thou bear'st 430  
 Enough, and more, the burden of that fault ;  
 Bitterly hast thou pay'd, and still art paying  
 That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains,  
 This day the Philistines a popular feast  
 Here celebrate in Gaza ; and proclame 435  
 Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud  
 To Dagon, as their God, who hath deliver'd  
 Thee, Samson, bound and blind into their hands,  
 Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.

So

These rags, this grinding is not  
 yet so base &c. *Tbyer.*

434. *This day the Philistines a popular feast &c ]* Judg. XVI. 23.  
*Then the lords of the Philistines ga-*

*thered them together, for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their God, and to rejoice ; for they said, Our God hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hand. &c. This incident the poet hath finely improv'd, and with*



So Dagon shall be magnify'd, and God, 440  
 Besides whom is no God, compar'd with idols,  
 Disglorify'd, blasphem'd, and had in scorn  
 By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine ;  
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,  
 Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest, 445  
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever  
 Could have befall'n thee and thy father's house.

## SAMSON.

Father, I do acknowledge and confess  
 That I this honor, I this pomp have brought  
 To Dagon, and advanc'd his praises high 450  
 Among the Heathen round ; to God have brought  
 Dishonor, obloquy, and op'd the mouths  
 Of idolists, and atheists ; have brought scandal  
 To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt  
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455  
 To waver, or fall off, and join with idols ;  
 Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,  
 The anguish of my soul, that suffers not

Mine

with great judgment he hath put  
 this reproach of Samson into the  
 mouth of the father, rather than  
 any other of the dramatis personæ.

472. *and these words*  
*I as a prophecy receive ;* ] This  
 method of one person's taking an  
 omen from the words of another

was

SAMSON AGONISTES. 241

Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.  
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460  
 With me hath end ; all the contést is now  
 'Twixt God and Dagon ; Dagon hath presum'd,  
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,  
 His deity comparing and preferring  
 Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure, 465  
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,  
 But will arise, and his great name assert :  
 Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive  
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him  
 Of all these boasted trophies won on me, 470  
 And with confusion blank his worshippers.

MANOAH.

With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words  
 I as a prophecy receive ; for God,  
 Nothing more certain, will not long defer  
 To vindicate the glory of his name 475  
 Against all competition, nor will long  
 Indure it doubtful whether God be Lord,

Or

was frequently practic'd among the  
 Ancients : and in these words the  
 downfall of Dagon's worshippers is  
 artfully presignified, as the death

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of Samson is in other places ; but  
 Manoah, as it was natural, accepts  
 the good omen without thinking of  
 the evil that is to follow.

R

500. *That*

Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done?  
 Thou must not in the mean while here forgot  
 Lie in this miserable loathsome plight 480  
 Neglected. I already have made way  
 To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat  
 About thy ranfome: well they may by this  
 Have satisfy'd their utmost of revenge 484  
 By pains and flaveries, worse than death inflicted  
 On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

## SAMSON.

Spare that proposal, Father, spare the trouble  
 Of that sollicitation; let me here,  
 As I deserve, pay on my punishment;  
 And expiate, if possible, my crime, 490  
 Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd  
 Secrets of men, the secrets of a friend,  
 How hainous had the fact been, how deserving  
 Contempt, and scorn of all, to be excluded

All

500. *That Gentiles in their parab-  
 les condemn &c.*] Alluding to  
 the story of Tantalus, who for re-  
 vealing the secrets of the Gods  
 was condemn'd to pains in Hell.  
 Cicero Tusc. Disp. IV. 16. —  
 poetæ impendere apud inferos sax-  
 um Tantalum faciunt ob scelera, ani-

mique impotentiam, et superbilo-  
 quentiam. Euripides assigns the  
 same punishment, and for the same  
 reason. Orestes 8.

— ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνδραποδῶν ὡς  
 Κοινης τραπίζης ἀξίωμα ἔχων  
 1000,

Axi-



SAMSON AGONISTES. 243

All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495

The mark of fool set on his front ?

But I God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret

Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,

Weakly at least, and shamefully : a sin

That Gentiles in their parables condemn 500

To their abyss and horrid pains confin'd.

MANOAH.

Be penitent and for thy fault contrite,

But act not in thy own affliction, Son ;

Repent the sin, but if the punishment

Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids ; 505

Or th' execution leave to high disposal,

And let another hand, not thine, exact

Thy penal forfeit from thyself ; perhaps

God will relent, and quit thee all his debt ;

Who ever more approves and more accepts 510

(Best pleas'd with humble' and filial submission)

Him

Απολαύει εσχα γλαύσαν, αίσχιστον  
ισσόν.

" in his eye that fine passage of  
" Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 617.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that  
" the ancient mystagogues taught,  
" that the Gods punished both the  
" revealers and the violators of  
" their mysteries. Milton had here

— sedet, æternumque fedebit  
Infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque mi-  
ferrimus omnes  
Admonet, et magna testatur vo-  
ce per umbras &c.

R 2

531.—none

Him who imploring mercy sues for life,  
 Than who self-rigorous chooses death as due ;  
 Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd  
 For self-offense, more than for God offended. 515  
 Reject not then what offer'd means ; who knows  
 But God hath set before us, to return thee  
 Home to thy country and his sacred house,  
 Where thou may'st bring thy offerings, to avert  
 His further ire, with pray'rs and vows renew'd ? 520

## SAMSON.

His pardon I implore ; but as for life,  
 To what end should I seek it ? when in strength  
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes  
 With youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts  
 Of birth from Heaven foretold, and high exploits,  
 Full of divine instinct, after some proof 526  
 Of acts indeed heroic, far beyond  
 The sons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,  
 Fearless

531.—*none daring my affront.*] None daring to contend with me, and meet me face to face, according to the etymology of the word. See the note on Paradise Lost, IX. 330.

535.—*hallow'd pledge*] This is the genuin reading of the first

edition ; in most of the others it is absurdly corrupted into *bellow pledge*.

538.—*all my precious fleece,*] Read *of my precious fleece*. Thus in Paradise Lost, I. 596. the sun in a mist is shorn *of* his beams : and IX.

# SAMSON AGONISTES.

245

Fearless of danger, like a petty God  
 I walk'd about, admir'd of all and dreaded 530  
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.  
 Then swoll'n with pride into the snare I fell  
 Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,  
 Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life ;  
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535  
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap  
 Of a deceitful concubine, who shorn me  
 Like a tame weather, all my precious fleece,  
 Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,  
 Shav'n, and disarm'd among mine enemies. 540

## CHORUS.

Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,  
 Which many a famous warrior overturns,  
 Thou couldst repress, nor did the dancing ruby  
 Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavor, or the smell,  
 Or taste that cheers the hearts of Gods and men, 545  
 Allure

IX. 1059. Samson from the harlot-  
 lap wak'd shorn of his strength.

*Meadowcourt.*

543. — nor did the dancing ruby  
 &c] The poet here probably al-  
 ludes to Prov. XXIII. 31. *Look not  
 thou upon the wine when it is red,  
 when it giveth his color in the cup,*

*when it moveth itself aright.* Mr.  
 Thyer has made the same obser-  
 vation.

545. *Or taste that cheers the heart  
 of Gods and men,*] Taken from  
 Judg. IX. 13. — *wine which cheer-  
 eth God and man.* Milton says Gods,  
 which is a just paraphrase, mean-  
 ing



Allure thee from the cool crySTALLIN stream.

SAMSON.

Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd  
Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure  
With touch ethereal of Heav'n's fiery rod,  
I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying 550  
Thirst, and refresh'd; nor envy'd them the grape  
Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.

CHORUS.

O madness, to think use of strongest wines  
And strongest drinks our chief support of health,  
When God with these forbidd'n made choice to rear  
His mighty champion, strong above compare, 556  
Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

SAMSON.

ing the *Hero-Gods* of the Heathen. Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, that *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God*: A God sprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverse other circumstances of the story. Hesiod in a similar expression says that *the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of Gods and men*. Theog. v. 220.

*Aur' ardore te decuit &c.*

Warburton.

Gods and men is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions Gods or men.

547. *Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd*

*Against the eastern ray, &c.]* This circumstance was very probably suggested to our author by the following lines of Tasso's poem del Mondo creato. Giornata 3. St. 8.

## SAMSON.

But what avail'd this temp'rance, not complete  
 Against another object more enticing?  
 What boots it at one gate to make defense, 560  
 And at another to let in the foe,  
 Effeminately vanquish'd? by which means,  
 Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonor'd, quell'd,  
 To what can I be useful, wherein serve  
 My nation, and the work from Heav'n impos'd,  
 But to sit idle on the household hearth, 566  
 A burd'nous drone; to visitants a gaze,  
 Or pity'd object, these redundant locks  
 Robustious to no purpose clustring down,  
 Vain monument of strength; till length of years  
 And

O liquidi cristalli, onde s' estin-  
 gua  
 L'ardente sete a miseri mortali:  
 Ma piu salubre é, se tra viue  
 pietre  
 Rompendo l' argentate, e fredde  
 corna,  
 Incontra il nuouo sol, che il puro  
 argento  
 Co' raggi indora — *Tbyer.*

557. *Whose drink &c*] Samson  
 was a Nazarite, Judge XIII. 7.  
 therefore to drink no wine, nor

shave his head. See Numb. VI.  
 Amos II. 12. *Richardson.*

566. *But to sit idle on the household  
 hearth, &c*] It is suppos'd,  
 with probability enough, that Mil-  
 ton chose Samson for his subject,  
 because he was fellow-sufferer with  
 him in the loss of his eyes; how-  
 ever one may venture to say, that  
 the similitude of their circumstances  
 in this respect has enrich'd the  
 poem with several very pathetic  
 descriptions of the misery of blind-  
 ness. *Tbyer.*

R 4

571.—*craze*

And sedentary numness craze my limbs 571  
 To a contemptible old age obscure?  
 Here rather let me drudge and earn my bread,  
 Till vermin or the draff of servile food  
 Consume me, and oft-invoked death 575  
 Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

## MANOAH.

Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that gift  
 Which was expressly giv'n thee to annoy them?  
 Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,  
 Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn. 580  
 But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer  
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst t' allay  
 After the brunt of battel, can as easy

Cause

571.— *craze my limbs*] He uses the word *craze* much in the same manner as in the *Paradise Lost* XII. 210. where see the note; and I would always recommend it to the reader, when an uncommon word especially occurs in two or more different places, to compare the places together for the better understanding of our author. I cannot always refer to the particular places in these notes, but the indexes may be of use for this purpose.

581. *But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer*

*From the dry ground to spring, &c.]* Judg. XV. 18, 19. *And he was sore at thirst, and called on the Lord, and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance into the hand of thy servant, and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised? But God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw, and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived.* We see that Milton differs from our translation. Our translation says that God *claves* an hollow place that was in the jaw: but Milton says



Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,  
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast ; 585  
 And I perswade me so ; why else this strength  
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks ?  
 His might continues in thee not for nought,  
 Nor shall his wondrous gifts be frustrate thus.

SAMSON.

All otherwise to me my thoughts portend, 590  
 That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,  
 Nor th' other light of life continue long,  
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand :  
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,  
 My hopes all flat, nature within me seems 595  
 In all her functions weary of herself,

My

says that God caus'd a fountain from the dry ground to spring, and herein he follows the Chaldee paraphrast and the best commentators, who understand it that God made a cleft in some part of the ground or rock, in the place called Lehi, *Lehi* signifying both a jaw and a place so called.

588. *His might continues &c*] A fine preparative, which raises our expectation of some great event to be produced by his strength.

Warburton.

594. *So much I feel my genial spirits droop, &c*] Here Milton in

the person of Samson describes exactly his own case, what he felt, and what he thought in some of his melancholy hours. He could not have wrote so well but from his own feeling and experience, and the very flow of the verses is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the subject. As Mr. Thyer expresses it, there is a remarkable solemnity and air of melancholy in the very sound of these verses, and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and serious tone of voice which is proper for the occasion.

600—and

250 SAMSON AGONISTES.

My race of glory run, and race of shame,  
And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

MANOAH.

Believe not these suggestions which proceed  
From anguish of the mind and humors black, 600  
That mingle with thy fancy. I however  
Must not omit a father's timely care  
To prosecute the means of thy deliverance  
By ransom, or how else: mean while be calm,  
And healing words from these thy friends admit.

SAMSON.

O that torment should not be confin'd 606  
To the body's wounds and sores,  
With maladies innumerable  
In heart, head, breast and reins;  
But must secret passage find 610  
To

600. — *and humors black,  
That mingle with thy fancy.*] This  
very just notion of the mind or  
fancy's being affected and as it  
were tainted with the vitiated hu-  
mors of the body Milton had be-  
fore adopted in his *Paradise Lost*,  
where he introduces Satan in the  
shape of a toad at the ear of Eve.  
IV. 804.

Or if, inspiring venom, he might  
taint

Th' animal spirits &c.  
So again in the *Mask*,

— 'tis but the lees  
And settlings of a melancholy  
blood. *Thyer.*

606. *O that torment should not be  
confin'd &c.*] Milton, no doubt,  
was apprehensive that this long de-  
scription of Samson's grief and  
misery

To th' inmost mind,  
 There exercise all his fierce accidents,  
 And on her purest spirits prey,  
 As on entrails, joints, and limbs,  
 With answerable pains, but more intense, 615  
 Though void of corporal sense.

My griefs not only pain me  
 As a lingering disease,  
 But finding no redress, ferment and rage,  
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620  
 Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,  
 To black mortification.

Thoughts my tormentors arm'd with deadly stings  
 Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,  
 Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise 625  
 Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb

Or

misery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgment varies both his manner of expressing it and the versification. These sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and this rough and unequal measure of the verses is very well suited to it. *Thyer.*

623. *Thoughts my tormentors arm'd with deadly stings*

*Mangle &c]* This descriptive imagery is fine and well pursued. The idea is taken from the effects of poisonous salts in the stomach and bowels, which stimulate, tear, inflame and exulcerate the tender fibres, and end in a mortification, which he calls *death's benumbing opium*, as in that stage the pain is over. *Warburton.*

637. Or



Or medicinal liquor can assuage,  
 Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.  
 Sleep hath forsook and giv'n me o'er  
 To death's benumbing opium as my only cure : 630  
 Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,  
 And sense of Heav'n's desertion.

I was his nursling once, and choice delight,  
 His destin'd from the womb,  
 Promis'd by heav'nly message twice descending. 635  
 Under his special eye  
 Abstemious I grew up, and thriv'd amain ;  
 He led me on to mightiest deeds  
 Above the nerve of mortal arm  
 Against th' uncircumcis'd, our enemies : 640  
 But now hath cast me off as never known,

And

627. *Or medicinal liquor can assuage,*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable but one, as in Latin : which is more musical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the last syllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has used it in the *Mask*. The same musical pronunciation occurs in *Shakespeare*. *Othello* Act 5. Sc. 10.  
 Drop tears as fast as the Arabian  
 trees

Their *medicinal* gum.

628. — *from snowy Alp.*] He uses *Alp* for mountain in general, as in the *Paradise Lost* II. 620.

O'er many a frozen, many a  
 fiery *Alp*.

*Alp* in the strict etymology of the word signifies a mountain white with snow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which separate Italy from France and Germany ; but  
 any

And to those cruel enemies,  
 Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,  
 Left me all helpless with th' irreparable loss  
 Of fight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645  
 The subject of their cruelty or scorn.  
 Nor am I in the list of them that hope ;  
 Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless ;  
 This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,  
 No long petition, speedy death, 650  
 The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

CHORUS.

Many are the sayings of the wise  
 In ancient and in modern books inroll'd,  
 Extolling patience as the truest fortitude ;  
 And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655  
 All

any high mountain may be so called, and so Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, speaking of Xerxes cutting through it, Carmen II. 510.

—cui ruptus Athos, cui remige  
 Medo  
 Turgida sylvosam currebant vela per *Alpem*.

And the old Glossary interprets Alps  
 by *ορη υψηλα* high mountains.  
 633. *I was his nursing once &c]*

This part of Samson's speech is little more than a repetition of what he had said before, ver. 23.

O wherefore was my birth from  
 Heav'n foretold  
 Twice by an Angel &c.

But yet it cannot justly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief though eloquent is not tied to forms, and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to and repeats its source and object. *Thyer.*  
 656. *All*

All chances incident to man's frail life,  
 Consolatories writ  
 With study'd argument, and much persuasion sought  
 Lenient of grief and anxious thought :  
 But with th' afflicted in his pangs their sound 660  
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune  
 Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint ;  
 Unless he feel within  
 Some source of consolation from above,  
 Secret refreshings, that repair his strength, 665  
 And fainting spirits uphold.

God of our fathers, what is man !  
 That thou tow'ards him with hand so various,  
 Or might I say contrarious,

Temper'ft

656. *All chances incident to man's frail life, &c.* There is a full stop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there should be only a comma, as the sense evinces, the construction being *And consolatories writ with &c. to the bearing well &c.* Milton himself corrected it in the first edition ; but when an error is once made, it is sure to be perpetuated through all the editions.

658. — *and much persuasion sought* ] I suppose an error of the press for *fraught*.

Warburton.  
 I conceive the construction to be,

*consolatories are writ with study'd argument, and much persuasion is sought &c.*

659. *Lenient of grief* ] Express'd from what we quoted before from Horace Epist. I. I. 34.

Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc  
*lenire dolorem*  
 Possis.

660. *But with th' afflicted &c.* ] Here was another error perpetuated through all the editions,

But to th' afflicted &c.

Milton himself corrected it, and certainly



Temper'ft thy providence through his ſhort courſe,  
Not ev'nly, as thou rul'ft 671

Th' angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,  
Irrational and brute.

Nor do I name of men the common rout,  
That wand'ring looſe about 675

Grow up and periſh, as the ſummer flie,  
Heads without name no more remember'd,  
But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly elected,  
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd  
To ſome great work, thy glory, 680

And people's ſafety, which in part they' effect :  
Yet toward theſe thus dignify'd, thou oft  
Amidſt their highth of noon

Changeſt

certainly *their ſound prevails* with  
*th' afflicted* is better than *prevails* to  
*th' afflicted*.

661. — or rather ſeems a tune  
Harſh, and of diſſonant mood &c.]  
Alluding to Eccus. XXII. 6. A  
tale out of ſeaſon is as muſic in  
mourning. Thyer.

667. God of our fathers, what is  
man ! &c.] This and the fol-  
lowing paragraph to ver. 705.  
ſeems to be an imitation of the  
Chorus in Seneca's Hippolytus,  
where the immature and unde-  
ſerved fate of that young hero is  
lamented, Aët IV. 971.

— ſed cur idem,  
Qui tanta regis, ſub quo vaſti  
Pondera mundi librata ſuos  
Ducunt orbes, hominum nimium  
Securus abes ; non ſollicitus  
Prodeſſe bonis, nocuiſſe malis ?  
&c. to the end. Thyer.

677. Heads without name no more  
remember'd.] Milton here pro-  
bably had in view the Greek term  
for this lower claſs of mortals.  
They ſtile them *αναριθμοι* or *ανα-  
ριθμητοι*, men not number'd, or not  
worth the numbring. Thyer.

693.—their

Changeſt thy count'nance, and thy hand with no regard  
Of higheſt favors paſt 685

From thee on them, or them to thee of ſervice.

Nor only doſt degrade them, or remit  
To life obſcur'd, which were a fair diſmiſſion, [high,  
But throw'ſt them lower than thou didſt exalt them  
Unſeemly

693. — *their carcaſes*  
*To dogs and fowls a prey,*] Plainly  
alluding to Homer's Iliad I. 4.

— αὐτὰς δ' ἰλαρὰ τεύχε  
κυνέεσσιν

Οἰκιστὴς παστ.

695. Or to ſb' unjuſt tribunals,  
*under change of times, &c*] Here no doubt Milton reflected upon the trials and ſufferings of his party after the Reſtoration; and probably he might have in mind particularly the caſe of Sir Harry Vane, whom he has ſo highly celebrated in one of his ſonnets. *If theſe they ſcape, perhaps in poverty &c*; this was his own caſe; he eſcaped with life, but lived in poverty, and though he was always very ſober and temperate, yet he was much afflicted with the gout and other painful diſeaſes in crude old age, *cruda ſeneſtus*, when he was not yet a very old man:

Though not diſordinate, yet  
cauſeleſs ſuff'ring

The puniſhment of diſſolute days.

Some time after I had written this, I had the pleaſure to find that

1

I had fallen into the ſame vein of thinking with Mr. Warburton: but he has open'd and purſued it much farther with a penetration and livelineſs of fancy peculiar to himſelf.

God of our fathers —

to ver. 704.

is a bold expoſtulation with Providence for the ill ſucceſs of the good old cauſe.

But ſuch as thou haſt ſolemnly  
elected,

With gifts and graces eminently  
adorn'd

To ſome great work, thy glory,

In theſe three lines are deſcribed the characters of the Heads of the Independent Enthuſiaſts,

— which in part they effect:

That is by the overthrow of the monarchy, without being able to raiſe their projected republic.

Yet toward theſe thus dignify'd,  
thou oſt

Amidſt their highth of noon  
Changeſt thy count'nance —

After

Unseemly falls in human eye, 690  
 Too grievous for the trespass or omission ;  
 Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword  
 Of Heathen and profane, their carcases  
 To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd ; 694  
 Or to th' unjust tribunals, under change of times,  
 And

After Richard had laid down, all  
 power came into the hands of the  
 enthusiastic Independent Republi-  
 cans, when a sudden revolution,  
 by the return of Charles II, broke  
 all their measures.

— with no regard  
 Of highest favors past  
*From thee on them, or them to thee  
 of service.*

That is without any regard of those  
 favors shown by thee to them in  
 their wonderful successes against ty-  
 ranny and superstition [Church and  
 State] or of those services they  
 paid to thee in declaring for reli-  
 gion and liberty [Independency  
 and a Republic].

Nor only dost degrade &c  
 Too grievous for the *trespass* or  
*omission* ;

By the *trespass* of these precious  
 saints Milton means the quarrels  
 among themselves : and by the  
*omission* the not making a clear  
 stage in the constitution, and new-  
 modeling the *law* as well as na-

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tional religion as Ludlow advised.  
 — *captiv'd* ;

Several were condemned to perpe-  
 tual imprisonment, as Lambert  
 and Martin.

Or to th' *unjust tribunals* under  
 change of times &c.

The trials and condemnation of  
 Vane and the Regicides. The  
 concluding verses describe his own  
 case,

If these they scape, perhaps in  
*poverty* —  
*Painful diseases and deform'd* —  
 Though not disordinate, yet  
 causeless suff'ring  
*The punishment of dissolute days :*

His losses in the Excise, and his  
 gout not caused by intemperance.  
 But Milton was the most heated  
 enthusiast of his time ; speaking of  
 Charles the first's murder in his  
 Defense of the People of England  
 he says—*Quamquam ego hæc di-  
 vino potius instinctu gesta esse cre-  
 diderim, quoties memoria repeto*  
 &c.

S

700. In



And condemnation of th' ingrateful multitude.  
 If these they scape, perhaps in poverty  
 With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,  
 Painful diseases and deform'd,  
 In crude old age ;

700

Though not disordinate, yet causeless suff'ring  
 The punishment of dissolute days : in fine,  
 Just or unjust alike seem miserable,  
 For oft alike both come to evil end.

704

So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,  
 The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.  
 What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already?  
 Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn  
 His labors, for thou canst, to peaceful end.

But

700. In *crude old age* ; ] *Crude*  
 old age in Virgil and in other writ-  
 ters is *strong* and *robust*,

— cruda Deo viridisque fe-  
 nestus.

But Milton uses *crude* here for *pre-  
 mature* and *coming before its time*, as  
*cruda funera* in Statius : old age  
 brought on by poverty and by sick-  
 ness, as Hesiod says *Egy.* 93.

Αἰψά γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοῦ κα-  
 τὰ γήραος.

Jortin.

714. Like a *stately ship* &c] The  
 thought of comparing a woman to  
 a ship is not entirely new. Plautus  
 has it in his *Pænulus*. I. II. 1.

Negotii sibi qui volet vim pa-  
 rare,

Navem et mulierem, hæc duo  
 comparato.

Nam nullæ magis res dux plus  
 negotii

Habent, forte si occiperis or-  
 nare, &c.

Of *Tarsus*, there is frequent men-  
 tion

But who is this, what thing of sea or land? 710  
 Female of sex it seems,  
 That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,  
 Comes this way sailing  
 Like a stately ship  
 Of Tarsus, bound for th' iles 715  
 Of Javan or Gadire  
 With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,  
 Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,  
 Courted by all the winds that hold them play,  
 An amber sent of odorous perfume 720  
 Her harbinger, a damsel train behind;  
 Some rich Philistian matron she may seem,  
 And now at nearer view, no other certain

Than

tion in Scripture of the *ships of Tarsis*, which Milton as well as some commentators might conceive to be the same as *Tarsus* in Cilicia: bound for th' iles of *Javan*, that is Greece, for *Javan* or *Ion* the fourth son of Japheth is said to have peopled Greece and Ionia: or *Gadire*, *Tadusa*, Gades, Cadiz. Mr. Warburton in his notes upon Shakespear, *Merry Wives of Windsor* Act III. Sc. 8. speaking of the *ship-tire*, says "it was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its

"name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some resemblance of a *ship* (as Shakespear says) in all her trim: with all her pennants out, and flags and streamers flying. Thus Milton in *Samson Agonistes* paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus Beaumont and Fletcher in their play of *Wit without money* ——— *She spreads fattens as the king's ships do canvas &c.*"

Than Dalila thy wife.

724

SAMSON.

My Wife, my Traitress, let her not come near me.

CHORUS.

Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes thee fix'd,  
About t' have spoke, but now, with head declin'd  
Like a fair flow'r furcharg'd with dew, she weeps,  
And words address'd seem into tears dissolv'd,  
Wetting the borders of her filken veil :  
But now again she makes address to speak.

730

DALILA.

With doubtful feet and wavering resolution  
I came, still dreading thy displeasure, Samson,  
Which to have merited, without excuse,  
I cannot but acknowledge ; yet if tears

735

May

726. *Yet on she moves, &c*] Like  
Ismene in the Antigone of Sopho-  
cles ver. 532.

and therefore it is more likely to  
be true.

729. *And words address'd &c*]   
This verse is printed imperfect in  
most of the editions,

Και μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἡδ' Ἰσμήνη  
Φιλαδέλφᾳ κατὰ δακρυ' ἑβό-  
μου  
Νηφελὴ δ' ὀφρυνὺν ὑπερ, αἵμα-  
τοι  
Ὶθ' αἰσχυροί,  
Ὶθ' ὀφρυνὺν ὑπερ παρῆσαν.

And words address'd seem tears  
dissolv'd,

that being wanted which is in the  
first edition,

And words address'd seem *into*  
tears dissolv'd.

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both  
concurr'd in the same observation,

Mr. Jortin conjectur'd it should be  
fo



May expiate (though the fact more evil drew  
 In the perverse event than I foresaw)  
 My penance hath not slacken'd, though my pardon  
 No way assur'd. But conjugal affection  
 Prevailing over fear, and timorous doubt, 740  
 Hath led me on, desirous to behold  
 Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,  
 If ought in my ability may serve  
 To lighten what thou suffer'st, and appease  
 Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745  
 Though late, yet in some part to recompense  
 My rash but more unfortunate misdeed.

SAMSON.

Out, out Hyæna; these are thy wonted arts,  
 And arts of every woman false like thee,

To

so read, without seeing the first edition.

732. *With doubtful feet &c*] The scene between Samson and Dalila is drawn up with great judgment, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, soft, and persuasive eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila, nor is the part of Samson less to be admir'd for that stern and resolute firmness which runs through it. What also gives both parts a great additional beauty is their

forming so fine a contrast to each other. *Thyer.*

748. *Out, out Hyæna;*] The hyæna is a creature somewhat like a wolf, and is said to imitate a human voice so artfully as to draw people to it and then devour them. So Solinus, the transcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. *Multa de ea mira: primum quod sequitur stabula pastorum, et auditu assiduo addiscit vocamen, quod exprimere possit imitatione vocis humanæ, ut in homi-*

To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750  
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,  
 And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,  
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change,  
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try  
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears,  
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail : 756  
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill  
 Again transgresses, and again submits ;  
 That wisest and best men full oft beguil'd,  
 With goodness principled not to reject 760  
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,  
 Are drawn to wear out miserable days,  
 Intangled with a pois'nous bosom snake,  
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off  
 As I by thee, to ages an example. 765

## DALILA.

Yet hear me, Samson ; not that I endeavor  
 To lessen or extenuate my offense,  
 But that on th' other side if it be weigh'd

By'

*nem astu accitum nocte saviat.* A  
 celebrated tragic writer makes use  
 of the same comparison. Orphan.  
 Act 2.

'Tis thus the false hyæna makes  
 her moan,  
 To draw the pitying traveler to  
 her den ;

Your

By' itself, with aggravations not surcharg'd,  
 Or else with just allowance counterpois'd, 770  
 I may, if possible, thy pardon find  
 The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.  
 First granting, as I do, it was a weakness  
 In me, but incident to all our sex,  
 Curiosity, inquisitive, importune 775  
 Of secrets, then with like infirmity  
 To publish them, both common female faults :  
 Was it not weakness also to make known  
 For importunity, that is for nought,  
 Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety? 780  
 To what I did thou shoud'st me first the way.  
 But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not :  
 Nor shoud'st thou have trusted that to woman's frailty:  
 Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel.  
 Let weakness then with weakness come to parle 785  
 So near related, or the same of kind,  
 Thine forgive mine; that men may censure thine  
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not

More

Your sex are so, such false dis-  
 semblers all, &c.

Milton applies it to a woman, but

Otway to the men; which with the  
 greater justice, let the critics and  
 the ladies determin.



More strength from me than in thyself was found.  
And what if love, which thou interpret'st hate, 790  
The jealousy of love, pow'rful of sway  
In human hearts, nor less in mine tow'rd thee,  
Caus'd what I did? I saw thee mutable  
Of fancy, fear'd lest one day thou would'st leave me  
As her at Timna, fought by all means therefore 795  
How to indear, and hold thee to me firmest;  
No better way I saw than by impórtuning  
To learn thy secrets, get into my power  
Thy key of strength and safety: thou wilt say,  
Why then reveal'd? I was assur'd by those 800  
Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd  
Against thee but safe custody, and hold:  
That made for me; I knew that liberty  
Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,  
While I at home sat full of cares and fears, 805  
Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed;  
Here I should still enjoy thee day and night  
Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines,  
Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,  
Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810  
These reasons in love's law have past for good,  
Though

SAMSON AGONISTES. 265

Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps ;  
And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,  
Yet always pity' or pardon hath obtain'd.

Be not unlike all others, not austere 815

As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.

If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,

In uncompassionate anger do not so.

SAMSON.

How cunningly the forcerefs displays

Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine? 820

That malice not repentance brought thee hither,

By this appears : I gave, thou say'st, th' example,

I led the way ; bitter reproach, but true ;

I to myself was false ere thou to me ;

Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825

Take to thy wicked deed ; which when thou see'st

Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,

Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather

Confess it feign'd : weakness is thy excuse,

And I believe it, weakness to resist 830

Philistian gold : if weakness may excuse,

What murderer, what traitor, parricide,

Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it ?

All

All wickedness is weakness : that plea therefore  
 With God or Man will gain thee no remission. 835  
 But love constrain'd thee ; call it furious rage  
 To satisfy thy lust : love seeks to' have love ;  
 My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the way  
 To raise in me inexpiable hate,  
 Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ? 840  
 In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,  
 Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

## DALILA.

Since thou determin'st weakness for no plea  
 In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,  
 Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845  
 What sieges girt me round, ere I consented ;  
 Which might have aw'd the best resolv'd of men,  
 The constantest, to' have yielded without blame.  
 It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,  
 That wrought with me : thou know'st the magistrates  
 And

840. *Knowing, as needs I must,  
 by thee betray'd ?* ] The same  
 manner of speaking as in *Paradise  
 Lost*. IX. 792.

And knew not eating death :  
 where see Mr. Richardson's note.

842. *Or by evasions* ] This is the  
 reading of the old editions, and  
 particularly of Milton's own : the  
 later ones have

*For by evasions* ———  
 which is not so plain and intel-  
 ligible.

850.—*thou*



SAMSON AGONISTES. 267

And princes of my country came in person, 851  
 Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,  
 Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty  
 And of religion, press'd how just it was,  
 How honorable, how glorious to intrap 855  
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd  
 Such numbers of our nation: and the priest  
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,  
 Preaching how meritorious with the Gods  
 It would be to insnare an irreligious 860  
 Dishonorer of Dagon: what had I  
 T' oppose against such pow'rful arguments?  
 Only my love of thee held long debate,  
 And combated in silence all these reasons  
 With hard contest: at length that grounded maxim  
 So ripe and celebrated in the mouths 866  
 Of wisest men, that to the public good  
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority

Took

850. — *thou know'st the magistrates*  
*And princes of my country came in person,* Judg. XVI. 5. *And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her &c.* So exact is Milton in all the particulars of

the story, and improves every incident.

864. — *all these reasons*] We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others — *all their reasons.*

Took full possession of me and prevail'd ;  
Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty so injoining. 870

SAMSON.

I thought where all thy circling wiles would end ;  
In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy.

But had thy love still odiously pretended,  
Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught thee  
Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds. 875

I before all the daughters of my tribe  
And of my nation chose thee from among  
My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st,  
Too well, unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,  
Not out of levity, but over-power'd 880

By thy request, who could deny thee nothing ;

Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then  
Didst thou at first receive me for thy husband,  
Then, as since then, thy country's foe profess'd ?

Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885

Parents and country ; nor was I their subject,

Nor under their protection but my own,

Thou mine, not theirs : if ought against my life

Thy country fought of thee, it fought unjustly,

Against the law of nature, law of nations, 890

No

No more thy country, but an impious crew  
 Of men conspiring to uphold their state  
 By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends  
 For which our country is a name so dear ; 894  
 Not therefore to be' obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee ;  
 To please thy Gods thou didst it ; Gods unable  
 T' acquit themselves and prosecute their foes  
 But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction  
 Of their own deity, Gods cannot be ;  
 Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900  
 These false pretexts and varnish'd colors failing,  
 Bare in thy guilt how foul must thou appear ?

DALILA.

In argument with men a woman ever  
 Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause. 904

SAMSON.

For want of words no doubt, or lack of breath ;  
 Witness when I was worried with thy peals.

DALILA.

I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken  
 In what I thought would have succeeded best.  
 Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson,  
 Afford me place to show what recompense 910  
 Tow'ards



270 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Tow' rds thee I intend for what I have misdane,  
 Misguided ; only what remains past cure  
 Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist  
 T' afflict thyself in vain : though fight be lost,  
 Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915  
 Where other senses want not their delights  
 At home in leisure and domestic ease,  
 Exempt from many a care and chance to which  
 Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.  
 I to the lords will intercede, not doubting 920  
 Their favorable ear, that I may fetch thee  
 From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide  
 With me, where my redoubled love and care  
 With nursing diligence, to me glad office,  
 May ever tend about thee to old age 925  
 With all things grateful chear'd, and so supply'd,  
 That what by me thou' hast lost thou least shalt miss.

SAMSON.

No, no, of my condition take no care ;

It

934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms*] Alluding no doubt to the story of Circe and the Sirens, but did not our author's fondness for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to represent Samson acquainted with the mythology of that country? It seems the more odd as the allusion to the adder immediately following is taken from Scripture. *Thyer.*

He

It fits not ; thou and I long since are twain :  
 Nor think me so unwary or accurs'd, 930  
 To bring my feet again into the snare  
 Where once I have been caught ; I know thy trains  
 Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils ;  
 Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms  
 No more on me have pow'r, their force is null'd,  
 So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd 936  
 To fence my ear against thy forceries.  
 If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men  
 Lov'd, honor'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'st hate me  
 Thy husband, slight me, sell me, and forego me ; 940  
 How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and thereby  
 Deceivable, in most things as a child  
 Helpless, thence easily contemn'd, and scorn'd,  
 And last neglected ? How wouldst thou insult,  
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945  
 In perfect thralldom, how again betray me,  
 Bearing my words and doings to the lords

To

He might as well be supposed to know the story of Circe and the Sirens as of Tantalus &c before ver. 500. and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other.

936. *So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd*] The allusion is to Psal. LVIII. 4, 5. *They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear ; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.* 973. On

Samson  
 gy of  
 e more  
 adder  
 taken

He

272 SAMSON AGONISTES.

To gloss upon, and censuring, frown or smile?  
 This jail I count the house of liberty 949  
 To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter.

DALILA.

Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand.

SAMSON.

Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance wake  
 My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.  
 At distance I forgive thee, go with that;  
 Bewail thy falshood, and the pious works 955  
 It hath brought forth to make thee memorable  
 Among illustrious women, faithful wives:  
 Cherish thy hasten'd widowhood with the gold  
 Of matrimonial treason: so farewell.

DALILA.

I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960  
 To

973. *On both his wings, one black,  
 the other white,  
 Bears greatest names in his wild  
 airy flight.]* I think Fame has  
 passed for a Goddess ever since He-  
 nod deify'd her: 'Egy. 763.

Θηκε δ' α τις παντα πολλοι  
 ται, η τινε πολλοι  
 Ατοι Θηκεται. δι. α τις εστι  
 και αυτη.

Fama vero nulla prorsus perit,  
 quam quidem multi  
 Populi divulgant, quippe dea  
 quidem est et ipsa.

Milton makes her a God, I know  
 not why, unless secundum eos, qui  
 dicunt utriusque sexus participatio-  
 nem habere numina. So in his  
 Lycidas he says (unless it be a  
 false print)

So



To pray'rs, than winds and seas, yet winds to seas  
 Are reconcil'd at length, and sea to shore :  
 Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,  
 Eternal tempest never to be calm'd.  
 Why do I humble thus myself, and suing 965  
 For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate ?  
 Bid go with evil omen, and the brand  
 Of infamy upon my name denounc'd ?  
 To mix with thy concernments I desist  
 Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own. 970  
 Fame if not double-fac'd is double-mouth'd,  
 And with contrary blast proclames most deeds ;  
 On both his wings, one black, the other white,  
 Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.  
 My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975  
 In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,

To

So may some gentle Muse  
 With lucky words favor my de-  
 stin'd urn,  
 And as *he* passes turn,  
 And bid fair peace be to my fa-  
 ble shroud.

Where *Muse* is the masculine for  
 poet is very bold. Perhaps it should  
 be:

VOL. I.

Bears greatest names in his *wide*  
 aery flight.

What Milton says of Fame's bear-  
 ing great names on his wings,  
 seems to be partly from Horace :  
 Od. II. II. 7.

*Illum ager penna metuente solvi*  
*Fama superstes. Jortin.*

T

986.—my

To all posterity may stand defam'd,  
 With malediction mention'd, and the blot  
 Of falshood most unconjugal traduc'd.  
 But in my country where I most desire, 980  
 In Ecron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,  
 I shall be nam'd among the famoussest  
 Of women, sung at solemn festivals,  
 Living and dead recorded, who to save  
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose 985  
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands, my tomb  
 With odors visited and annual flowers;  
 Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim  
 Jael, who with inhospitable guile  
 Smote Sisera sleeping through the temples nail'd.  
 Nor shall I count it hainous to enjoy 991  
 The public marks of honor and reward  
 Conferr'd upon me, for the piety

Which

986. — *my tomb*  
*With odors visited and annual*  
*flowers;]* What is said in  
 Scripture of the daughter of Jeph-  
 thah, that the daughters of Israel  
 went yearly to lament her, seems to  
 imply that this solemn and perio-  
 dical visitation of the tombs of emi-  
 nent persons was an eastern custom.  
*Ihyer.*

So it is said afterwards of Samson,  
 The virgins also shall on feastful  
 days  
 Visit his tomb with flowers.

988. *Not less renown'd than in*  
*mount Ephraim*  
*Jael,]* Jael is celebrated in the  
 noble song of Deborah and Barak,  
 Judg.

SAMSON AGONISTES. 275

Which to my country I was judg'd to' have shown.  
At this who ever envies or repines, 995  
I leave him to his lot, and like my own.

CHORUS.

She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting  
Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

SAMSON.

So let her go, God sent her to debase me,  
And aggravate my folly, who committed 1000  
To such a viper his most sacred trust  
Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

CHORUS.

Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,  
After offense returning, to regain  
Love once possess'd, nor can be easily 1005  
Repuls'd, without much inward passion felt  
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

SAMSON.

Judg. V. and Deborah dwelt between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim. Judg. IV. 5.

995. *At this who ever envies or repines,  
I leave him to his lot, and like my own.* Teucer to the Chorus in Sophocles's Ajax ver. 1060.

Ὅτι δὲ μὴ τὰδ' εἰν ἐν γυναικὶ φίλα,  
Καὶ τ' ἐκείνα σέβεται, καὶ τὰδ' ἐκείνῃ.

Cui autem hæc non sunt cordi,  
Illeque sua amet, et ego mea.  
Calton.

1003. *Yet beauty, though injurious,*  
T 2 hæc



## SAMSON.

Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,  
Not wedlock-treachery indang'ring life.

## CHORUS.

It is not virtue, wisdom, valor, wit, 1010  
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit  
That woman's love can win or long inherit;  
But what it is, hard is to say,  
Harder to hit,  
(Which way soever men refer it) 1015  
Much like thy riddle, Samson, in one day  
Or sev'n, though one should musing sit.

If any of these or all, the Timnian bride  
Had not so soon preferr'd  
Thy paranymp, worthless to thee compar'd, 1020  
Successor

*batb strange power, &c]* This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam forgiving Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own case, as the reader may see in the note upon Paradise Lost, X. 940. for I would not repeat it here.

1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,*] Terence Andria III. III. 23.

*Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est.*

1010. *It is not virtue, &c]* How-

ever just the observation may be, that Milton in his Paradise Lost seems to court the favor of the female sex, it is very certain, that he did not carry the same complaisance into this performance. What the Chorus here says outgoes the very bitterest satire of Euripides who was called the Woman-hater. It may be said indeed in excuse, that the occasion was very provoking, and that these reproaches are rather to be look'd upon as a sudden start of resentment, than cool and

an  
TH  
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Successor in thy bed,  
 Nor both so loosely disally'd  
 Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously  
 Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.  
 Is it for that such outward ornament 1025  
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts  
 Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgment scant,  
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend  
 Or value what is best  
 In choice, but otest to affect the wrong? 1030  
 Or was too much of self-love mix'd,  
 Of constancy no root infix'd,  
 That either they love nothing, or not long?  
 Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best  
 Seeming at first all heav'nly under virgin veil, 1035  
 Soft,

and sober reasoning. *Thyer.*  
 These reflections are the more severe, as they are not spoken by Samson, who might be supposed to utter them out of pique and resentment, but are deliver'd by the Chorus as serious and important truths. But by all accounts Milton himself had suffer'd some uneasiness through the temper and behaviour of two of his wives; and no wonder therefore that upon so tempting an occasion as this he indulges his spleen a little, depreciates the qualifica-

tions of the women, and asserts the superiority of the men, and to give these sentiments the greater weight puts them into the mouth of the Chorus.

1020. *Thy paranympb,*] Brideman. *But Samson's wife was given to his companion, whom he had used as his friend.* Judg. XIV. 20.

*Richardson.*

1034.—*to wisest men and best*] Read *to the wisest man.* See the following expressions—in *his way* —*draws him awry.* *Meadowcourt.*

278 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Soft, modest, meek, demure,  
 Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn  
 Intestin, far within defensive arms  
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue  
 Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040  
 Draws him awry inflav'd  
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd  
 To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.  
 What pilot so expert but needs must wreck  
 Imbark'd with such a steers-mate at the helm? 1045  
 Favor'd of Heav'n who finds  
 One virtuous rarely found,  
 That in domestic good combines :  
 Happy that house his way to peace is smooth :  
 But virtue which breaks through all opposition, 1050  
 And all temptation can remove,

Most

We have such a change of the  
 number in the Paradise Lost IX.  
 1183.

— in *women* overtrusting  
 Lets *her* will rule ; restraint *she*  
 will not brook,  
 And left to *herself*, &c :

and we justified it there by a simi-  
 lar instance from Terence.

1038. — *far within defensive arms*  
*A cleaving mischief,*] The words

*a cleaving mischief* allude to the  
 poison'd shirt sent to Hercules by  
 his wife Deianira. *Meadowcourt.*

1046. *Favor'd of Heav'n who*  
*finds &c]* If Milton like Solo-  
 mon and the Son of Sirach fati-  
 rizes the women in general, like  
 them too he commends the vir-  
 tuous and good, and esteems a  
 good wife a blessing from the  
 Lord. Prov. XVIII. 22. *Whoso*  
*finds a*



Most shines and most is acceptable above.

Therefore God's universal law  
Gave to the man despotic power  
Over his female in due awe,  
Nor from that right to part an hour,  
Smile she or lour :

1055

So shall he least confusion draw  
On his whole life, not sway'd  
By female usurpation, or dismay'd.

1060

But had we best retire, I see a storm ?

SAMSON.

Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.

CHORUS.

But this another kind of tempest brings.

SAMSON.

Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

CHORUS.

*findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favor of the Lord. XIX. 14. A prudent wife is from the Lord, Eccclus. XXVI. 1, 2. Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the years of his life in peace. &c. This is much better than condemning all without distinction, as Juvenal and Boileau have done, the former*

*in his sixth, and the latter in his tenth satir.*

1061. *But had we best retire &c]*  
Read

But we had best retire —  
or

But had n't we best retire —

*Symphon.*

T 4

1075 *His*

280 SAMSON AGONISTES:

CHORUS.

Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear 1065  
 The bait of honied words ; a rougher tongue  
 Draws hitherward, I know him by his stride,  
 The giant Harapha of Gath, his look  
 Haughty as is his pile high-built and proud.  
 Comes he in peace? what wind hath blown him hither  
 I less conjecture than when first I saw 1071  
 The sumptuous Dalila floting this way :  
 His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.

SAMSON

Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.

CHORUS.

His fraught we soon shall know, he now arrives.

HARAPHA.

I come not, Samson to condole thy chance, 1706  
 As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,  
 Though

1075. *His fraught*] For *fraught* read *fraight*. Meadowcourt.

1079. *Men call me Harapha, &c*] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without some foundation in Scripture. *Arapha* or rather *Rapha* (says Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word

*Rapha* may likewise signify simply a giant. Of stock renown'd as Og, for Og the king of Bashan was of the race of the *Rephaim*, whose bed was nine cubits long, and four broad. Deut. III. 11. Or *Anak*, the father of the *Anakims*, and the *Emims* old, Deut. II. 10, 11. a people great, and many, and tall as the *Anakims* ;

Though for no friendly' intent. I am of Gath,  
Men call me Harapha, of stock renown'd  
As Og or Anak and the Emims old 1080  
That Kiriathaim held, thou know'st me now  
If thou at all art known. Much I have heard  
Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd  
Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,  
That I was never present on the place 1085  
Of those encounters, where we might have try'd  
Each other's force in camp or list'd field :  
And now am come to see of whom such noise  
Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,  
If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

SAMSON.

The way to know were not to see but taste.

HARAPHA.

Dost thou already single me ? I thought

Gyves

*Anakims ; which also were account-  
ed giants or Rephaim, as the Ana-  
kims, but the Moabites call them  
Emims. That Kiriathaim held,  
for Gen. XIV. 5. Chedorlaomer,  
and the kings that were with him,  
smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth  
Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham,  
and the Emims in Shaveh Kiria-*

*thaim, or the plain of Kiriathaim.*

1081. — *thou know'st me now  
If thou at all art known.*] He is  
made to speak in the spirit and al-  
most in the language of Satan, Pa-  
radise Lost IV. 830.

Not to know me argues your-  
selves unknown,

1093. Gyves]



Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that fortune  
 Had brought me to the field, where thou art tam'd  
 To' have wrought such wonders with an afs's jaw ;  
 I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms, 1096  
 Or left thy carcass where the afs lay thrown :  
 So had the glory' of prowels been recover'd  
 To Palestine, won by a Philistine 1099  
 From the unforeskinn'd race, of whom thou bear'st  
 The highest name for valiant acts ; that honor  
 Certain to' have won by mortal duel from thee,  
 I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.

## SAMSON.

Boast not of what thou wouldst have done, but do  
 What then thou wouldst, thou seest it in thy hand.

## HARAPHA.

To combat with a blind man I disdain, 1106  
 And

1093. *Gyves* ] Chains, fetters.  
*Cymbeline*. Act 5. Sc. 3.

— Must I repent ?

I cannot do it better than in *gyves*.  
*Romeo and Juliet*. Act 2. Sc. 2.  
*Juliet to Romeo*.

'Tis almost morning. I would  
 have thee gone.  
 And yet no farther than a wan-  
 ton's bird,

That lets it hop a little from her  
 hand,  
 Like a poor prisoner in his twist-  
 ed *gyves*,  
 And with a silk thred plucks it  
 back again,  
 So loving jealous of his liberty,

*Fairfax*, Cant. 5. St. 42.

These hands were made to shake  
 sharp spears and swords.

Not

And thou hast need much washing to be touch'd:

SAMSON.

Such usage as your honorable lords  
Afford me' affaffinated and betray'd,  
Who durst not with their whole united powers 1110  
In fight withstand me single and unarm'd,  
Nor in the house with chamber ambushes  
Close-banded durst attack me, no not sleeping,  
Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold  
Breaking her marriage faith to circumvent me. 1115  
Therefore without feign'd shifts let be assign'd  
Some narrow place inclos'd, where fight may give  
thee,

Or rather flight, no great advantage on me ;  
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet  
And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon, 1120  
Vant-

Not to be ty'd in gyves and  
twisted cords.

1120. *And brigandine of brass,*  
&c] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail,  
Jer. XLVI. 4,—*surbise the spears,*  
*and put on the brigandines.* LI. 3.  
*Against him that bendeth, let the*  
*archer bend his bow, and against him*  
*that listeth himself up in his brigandine.* *Habergeon*, a coat of mail  
for the neck and shoulders, Job

XLI. 26. *The sword of him that*  
*layeth at him cannot hold, the spear,*  
*the dart, nor the habergeon.* Spenser  
*Faery Queen.* B. 2. Cant. 6.  
St. 29.

Their mighty strokes, their habergeons  
dismail'd,  
And naked made each other's  
manly spalles.

*Spalles* that is shoulders. Fairfax  
Cant. 1. St. 72.

Some

284 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Vant-brass and greves, and gauntlet, add thy spear,  
 A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield,  
 I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,  
 And raise such outcries on thy clatter'd iron, 1124  
 Which long shall not withhold me from thy head,  
 That in a little time while breath remains thee,  
 Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath to boast  
 Again in safety what thou wouldst have done  
 To Samson, but shall never see Gath more.

HARAPHA.

Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms,  
 Which greatest heroes have in battel worn, 1131  
 Their ornament and safety, had not spells  
 And black enchantment, some magician's art,  
 Arm'd

Some shirts of mail, some coats  
 of plate put on,  
 — and some a *habergeon*.

*Vant-brass* or *Vantbrace*, avant-bras,  
 armour for the arms. *Troilus* and  
*Cressida*. Act 1. Sc. 6. Nestor  
 speaks.

I'll hide my silver beard in a gold  
 beaver,  
 And in my *vantbrace* put this  
 wither'd brawn.

Fairfax. Cant. 20. St. 139.

His left arm wounded had the  
 knight of France,

His shield was pierc'd, his *vant-*  
*brace* cleft and split.

*Greves*, armour for the legs. 1 Sam.  
 XVII. 6. *And he had greves of brass*  
*upon his legs.* *Gauntlet*, an iron  
 glove. 2 Henry IV Act 1. Sc. 3.  
 old Northumberland speaks.

—Hence therefore, thou nice  
 crutch ;

A scaly *gauntlet* now with joints  
 of steel

Must glove this hand.

1121. — *add thy spear, &c.]*  
 This is Milton's own reading: the  
 other



Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou from  
Heaven

Feign'dst at thy birth was giv'n thee in thy hair, 1135  
Where strength can least abide, though all thy hairs  
Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back  
Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.

SAMSON.

I know no spells, use no forbidden arts ;  
My trust is in the living God, who gave me 1140  
At my nativity this strength diffus'd  
No less through all my sinews, joints and bones,  
Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,  
The pledge of my unviolated vow.  
For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy God, 1145  
Go

other editions have *and thy spear*, which is not so proper, for it cannot well be said in construction, *put on thy spear*. *A weaver's beam*, as Goliath's was, 1 Sam. XVII. 7. *And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam*, and his brother's, 2 Sam. XXI. 19. *the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam*. *And seven-times folded shield*, as was Ajax's, *clipei dominus septemplex* Ajax, Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

1132. — *had not spells &c* ] This is natural enough in the mouth of Harapha, and no ways inconsistent with the manners of the age

in which this scene is laid, since we are informed in Scripture that they were at that time much addicted to magical superstition. But yet it is very probable, that Milton adopted this notion from the Italian Epics, who are very full of enchanted arms, and sometimes represent their heroes invulnerable by this art. So Ariosto's Orlando is described. *Thyer*.

1138 — *or ruffled porcupines*. ] Who can doubt that Milton here had Shakespear in mind? Hamlet Act 1. Sc. 8.

And

Go to his temple, invoke his aid  
 With solemnest devotion, spread before him  
 How highly it concerns his glory now  
 To frustrate and dissolve these magic spells,  
 Which I to be the power of Israel's God 1150  
 Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,  
 Offering to combat thee his champion bold,  
 With th' utmost of his Godhead seconded :  
 Then thou shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow 1154  
 Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine.

## H A R A P H A.

Presume not on thy God, whate'er he be,  
 Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off  
 Quite from his people, and deliver'd up  
 Into thy enemies hand, permitted them 1159  
 To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee  
 Into the common prison, there to grind  
 Among the slaves and asses, thy comrades,  
 As good for nothing else, no better service  
 With those thy boist'rous locks, no worthy match  
 For

And each particular hair to stand  
 on end,  
 Like quills upon the fretful por-  
 cupine.

1162. — *thy comrades,*] With  
 the accent upon the last syllable as  
 in 1 Henry IV. Act 4. Sc. 2.

And

SAMSON AGONISTES. 287

For valor to assail, nor by the sword 1165  
Of noble warrior, so to stain his honor,  
But by the barber's razor best subdued.

SAMSON.

All these indignities, for such they are  
From thine, these evils I deserve and more,  
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170  
Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon  
Whose ear is ever open, and his eye  
Gracious to re-admit the suppliant ;  
In confidence whereof I once again  
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175  
By combat to decide whose God is God,  
Thine or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

HARAPHA.

Fair honor that thou dost thy God, in trusting  
He will accept thee to defend his cause,  
A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber. 1180

SAMSON.

[these ?

Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou prove me

HA-

And his *comrades*, that daunt the  
world aside  
And bid it pass.

1181. *Tongue-doughty*] *Doughty*

that is valiant. See Skinner. *Σεα-  
συρομ.* Æschylus. *Septem con-  
tra Thebas.* 617. *Richardson.*

1222. *Who*



## HARAPHA.

Is not thy nation subject to our lords ?  
 Their magistrates confess'd it, when they took thee  
 As a league-breaker, and deliver'd bound  
 Into our hands : for hadst thou not committed 1185  
 Notorious murder on those thirty men  
 At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,  
 Then like a robber stripp'dst them of their robes ?  
 The Philistines, when thou hadst broke the league,  
 Went up with armed powers thee only seeking, 1190  
 To others did no violence nor spoil.

## SAMSON.

Among the daughters of the Philistines  
 I chose a wife, which argued me no foe ;  
 And in your city held my nuptial feast :  
 But your ill-meaning politician lords, 1195  
 Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,  
 Appointed to await me thirty spies,  
 Who threatning cruel death constrain'd the bride  
 To wring from me and tell to them my secret,  
 That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200  
 When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,

As  
 1222. *Who now defies thee thrice*] arms to give the challenge and to  
 This was the custom and the law of found the trumpet thrice. In al-  
 lusion

As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,  
 I us'd hostility, and took their spoil  
 To pay my underminers in their coin.  
 My nation was subjected to your lords. 1205  
 It was the force of conquest ; force with force  
 Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.  
 But I a private person, whom my country  
 As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd  
 Single rebellion, and did hostile acts. 1210  
 I was no private but a person rais'd  
 With strength sufficient and command from Heaven  
 To free my country ; if their servile minds  
 Me their deliverer sent would not receive,  
 But to their masters gave me up for nought, 1215  
 Th' unworthier they ; whence to this day they serve.  
 I was to do my part from Heav'n assign'd,  
 And had perform'd it, if my known offense  
 Had not disabled me, not all your force :  
 These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant 1220  
 Though by his blindness maim'd for high attempts,  
 Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,

As

lusion to the same practice Edgar by the third sound of the trumpet,  
 appears to fight with the Bastard Lear. Act 5. Sc. 7.  
 VOL. I. U 1231. Q

As a petty enterprize of small enforce.

HARAPHA.

With thee a man condemn'd, a slave inroll'd,  
Due by the law to capital punishment? 1225  
To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

SAMSON.

Can'st thou for this, vain boaster, to survey me,  
To descant on my strength, and give thy verdict?  
Come nearer, part not hence so slight inform'd;  
But take good heed my hand survey not thee. 1230

HARAPHA.

O Baal-zebub! can my ears unus'd  
Hear these dishonors, and not render death?

SAMSON.

No man withholds thee, nothing from thy hand  
Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,  
My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free. 1235

HARAPHA.

This insolence other kind of answer fits.

SAMSON.

1231. *O Baal-zebub!*] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to swear by *Astarte*, that is the deities of the Philistines and neighb'ring nations, of whom we have said something

in the notes on the *Paradise Lost*, and the learned reader may see more in Selden.

1248. *Though some divulge him* &c.] So it plainly should be as Milton



SAMSON AGONISTES. 291

SAMSON.

Go baffled coward, lest I run upon thee,  
Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,  
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,  
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down 1240  
To th' hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

HARAPHA.

By Astaroth ere long thou shalt lament  
These braveries in irons loaden on thee.

CHORUS.

His giantship is gone somewhat crest-faln,  
Stalking with less unconscionable strides, 1245  
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe.

SAMSON.

I dread him not, nor all his giant-brood,  
Though fame divulge him father of five sons,  
All of gigantic size, Goliath chief.

CHORUS.

He will directly to the lords, I fear, 1250  
And

Milton himself corrected it, and are mention'd 2 Sam. XXI. 15-22. *These four were born to the giant or not divulg'd as it is in all the editions. Father of five sons &c. The story of Goliath of Gath is very well known; and the other four to Harapha in Gath, and fell by the band of David, and by the band of his servants.*

U 2

1309.—remark

And with malicious counsel stir them up  
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

## SAMSON.

He must allege some cause, and offer'd fight  
Will not dare mention, lest a question rise  
Whether he durst accept th' offer or not, 1255  
And that he durst not plain enough appear'd.  
Much more affliction than already felt  
They cannot well impose, nor I sustain ;  
If they intend advantage of my labors, 1259  
The work of many hands, which earns my keeping  
With no small profit daily to my owners.  
But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove  
My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence,  
The worst that he can give, to me the best.  
Yet so it may fall out, because their end 1265  
Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine  
Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

## CHORUS.

Oh how comely it is, and how reviving  
To the spirits of just men long oppress'd !  
When God into the hands of their deliverer 1270  
Puts invincible might

To

To quell the mighty of the earth, th' oppressor,  
 The brute and boist'rous force of violent men  
 Hardy and industrious to support  
 Tyrannic pow'r, but raging to pursue 1275  
 The righteous, and all such as honor truth;  
 He all their ammunition  
 And feats of war defeats  
 With plain heroic magnitude of mind  
 And celestial vigor arm'd, 1280  
 Their armories and magazines contemns,  
 Renders them useless, while  
 With winged expedition  
 Swift as the lightning glance he executes  
 His errand on the wicked, who surpris'd 1285  
 Lose their defense distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise  
 Of saints, the trial of their fortitude,  
 Making them each his own deliverer,  
 And victor over all 1290  
 That tyranny or fortune can inflict.  
 Either of these is in thy lot,  
 Samson, with might indued  
 Above the sons of men; but fight bereav'd



294 SAMSON AGONISTES.

May chance to number thee with those 1295  
Whom patience finally must crown.

This idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,  
Laboring thy mind

More than the working day thy hands.

And yet perhaps more trouble is behind, 1300  
For I descry this way

Some other tending, in his hand

A scepter or quaint staff he bears,

Comes on amain, speed in his look.

By his habit I discern him now 1305

A public officer, and now at hand.

His message will be short and voluble.

OFFICER.

Hebrews, the pris'ner Samson here I seek.

CHORUS.

His manacles remark him, there he fits.

OFFICER.

Samson, to thee our lords thus bid me say ;

This

1309. — *remark him,* ] Distinguish him, point him out.

*Richardson.*

1313. — *surpassing human rate,* ] In the first edition it was printed *rate*, but in the table of Errata we

are desired to read *rate*. No wonder the first reading is followed in all the editions, when it is sense ; for it would have been followed in all probability, though it had made nonsense.

1325. — *num-*

SAMSON AGONISTES. 295

This day to Dagon is a solemn feast, 1311  
 With sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games ;  
 Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,  
 And now some public proof thereof require  
 To honor this great feast, and great assembly ; 1315  
 Rise therefore with all speed and come along,  
 Where I will see thee hearten'd and fresh clad  
 To' appear as fits before th' illustrious lords.

SAMSON.

Thou know'st I am an Hebrew, therefore tell them,  
 Our law forbids at their religious rites 1320  
 My presence ; for that cause I cannot come.

OFFICER.

This answer, be assur'd, will not content them.

SAMSON.

Have they not sword-players, and every sort  
 Of gymnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,  
 Juglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics, 1325  
 But they must pick me out with shackles tir'd,  
 And

1325. — *mummers, mimics,*] It was printed *mummers, mimirs* ; *mummers* are maskers according to Junius, Skinner, and the other etymologists ; but what are *mi-*

*mirs* ? The table of Errata to the first edition hath set us right, instructing us to read *mimics*, but not one of the editions have followed it.

U 4

1347. *Perhaps*

And over-labor'd at their public mill,  
 To make them sport with blind activity?  
 Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels  
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330  
 Or make a game of my calamities?  
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

OFFICER.

Regard thyself, this will offend them highly.

SAMSON.

Myself? my conscience and internal peace.  
 Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335  
 With corporal servitude, that my mind ever  
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?  
 Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,  
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief 1339  
 To show them feats, and play before their God,  
 The worst of all indignities, yet on me  
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

OFFICER.

My message was impos'd on me with speed,

Brooks

1347. *Perhaps thou shalt have  
 cause to sorrow indeed.* Here  
 the catastrophe is anticipated, as  
 before ver. 1266.

— it may with mine  
 Draw their own ruin who at-  
 tempt the deed.

And



**SAMSON AGONISTES. 297**

Brooks no delay : is this thy resolution ? 1344

**SAMSON.**

So take it with what speed thy message needs.

**OFFICER.**

I am sorry what this stoutness will produce.

**SAMSON.**

Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow' indeed.

**CHORUS.**

Confider, Samson ; matters now are strain'd  
Up to the highth, whether to hold or break ;  
He's gone, and who knows how he may report 1350  
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame ?  
Expect another message more imperious,  
More lordly thund'ring than thou well wilt bear.

**SAMSON.**

Shall I abuse this consecrated gift  
Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355  
After my great transgression, so requite  
Favor renew'd, and add a greater sin  
By prostituting holy things to idols ;

**A**

And such anticipations are usual as cannot be perfectly comprehend-  
with the best dramatic writers, ed, till they are fully explain'd by  
who knowing their own plan open the event. The speaker himself  
it by degrees, and drop such hints can only be supposed to have some  
general

A Nazarite in place abominable  
 Vaunting my strength in honor to their Dagon?  
 Besides how vile, contemptible, ridiculous, 1361  
 What act more execrably unclean, profane?

## CHORUS.

Yet with this strength thou serv'st the Philistines,  
 Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

## SAMSON.

Not in their idol-worship, but by labor 1365  
 Honest and lawful to deserve my food  
 Of those who have me in their civil power.

## CHORUS.

Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

## SAMSON.

Where outward force constrains, the sentence holds.  
 But who constrains me to the temple' of Dagon, 1370  
 Not dragging? the Philistian lords command.  
 Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,

I

general meaning, and not a distinct conception of all the particulars, somewhat like the high priest in the Gospel, who prophesied without his knowing it.

1377. *Yet that he may dispense &c]* Milton here probably had in view the story of Naaman the Sy-

rian's begging a dispensation of this sort from Elifha, which he seemingly grants him. See 2 Kings V. 18, 19. *Thyer.*

1384. *I with this messenger will go along.]* With what messenger? It was not expressly said before that the messenger was coming;

I do it freely, vent'ring to displease  
 God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer,  
 Set God behind : which in his jealousy 1375  
 Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.  
 Yet that he may dispense with me or thee  
 Present in temples at idolatrous rites  
 For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.

CHORUS.

How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach.

SAMSON.

Be of good courage, I begin to feel 1381  
 Some rousing motions in me which dispose  
 To something extraordinary my thoughts.  
 I with this messenger will go along,  
 Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonor 1385  
 Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.  
 If there be ought of presage in the mind,  
 This day will be remarkable in my life

By

ing ; it was implied indeed in what  
 the Chorus had said,

How thou wilt here come off  
 surmounts my reach :

and this might very well be un-  
 derstood by a man, who could see  
 the messenger coming as well as

the Chorus, but seems hardly a  
 sufficient intimation to a blind  
 man, unless we suppose him to  
 know that the messenger was com-  
 ing by the same impulse that he  
 felt rousing him to something ex-  
 traordinary.



300 SAMSON AGONISTES.

By some great act, or of my days the last. 1389

CHORUS.

In time thou hast resolv'd, the man returns.

OFFICER.

Samson, this second message from our lords  
To thee I am bid say. Art thou our slave,  
Our captive, at the public mill our drudge,  
And dar'st thou at our sending and command  
Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395  
Or we shall find such engines to assail  
And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,  
Though thou wert firmlier fasten'd than a rock.

SAMSON.

I could be well content to try their art, 1399  
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious.  
Yet knowing their advantages too many,  
Because they shall not trail me through their streets  
Like a wild beast, I am content to go.  
Masters commands come with a pow'r resistless  
To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405  
And for a life who will not change his purpose?

(So

1404. *Master's commands &c*] tray'd itself had it not been cover'd  
This was a feint, but it had be- by ver. 1408.

Yet

(So mutable are all the ways of men)  
Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply  
Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

OFFICER.

I praise thy resolution : doff these links : 1410  
By this compliance thou wilt win the lords  
To favor, and perhaps to set thee free.

SAMSON.

Brethren farewell ; your company along  
I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them  
To see me girt with friends ; and how the fight 1415  
Of me as of a common enemy,  
So dreaded once, may now exasperate them  
I know not : lords are lordliest in their wine ;  
And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd  
With zeal, if ought religion seem concern'd ; 1420  
No less the people on their holy-days  
Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable :  
Happen what may, of me expect to hear  
Nothing dishonorable, impure, unworthy  
Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself, 1425  
The

Yet this be sure &c. *Warburton.* That is of going, not what he said  
1410. *I praise thy resolution :* ] last. *Richardson.*

1463. *That*

The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

CHORUS.

Go, and the Holy One  
Of Israel be thy guide  
To what may serve his glory best, and spread his name  
Great among the Heathen round ; 1430  
Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand  
Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field  
Rode up in flames after his message told  
Of thy conception, and be now a shield  
Of fire ; that Spirit that first rush'd on thee 1435  
In the camp of Dan  
Be efficacious in thee now at need.  
For never was from Heav'n imparted  
Measure of strength so great to mortal feed,  
As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen. 1440  
But wherefore comes old Manoah in such haste  
With youthful steps ? much livelier than ere while  
He seems : supposing here to find his son,  
Or of him bringing to us some glad news ?

MANOAH.

Peace with you, Brethren ; my inducement hither  
Was

1463. *That part most reverenc'd* I doubt not, in this place indulges  
*Dagon and his priests:] Milton,* that inveterate spleen, which he  
always



SAMSON AGONISTES. 303

Was not at present here to find my son, 1446  
 By order of the lords new parted hence  
 To come and play before them at their feast.  
 I heard all as I came, the city rings,  
 And numbers thither flock, I had no will, 1450  
 Left I should see him forc'd to things unseemly.  
 But that which mov'd my coming now, was chiefly  
 To give ye part with me what hope I have  
 With good success to work his liberty. 1454

CHORUS.

That hope would much rejoice us to partake  
 With thee ; say, reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.

MANOAH.

I have attempted one by one the lords  
 Either at home, or through the high street passing,  
 With supplication prone and father's tears,  
 T' accept of ranfome for my son their pris'ner. 1460  
 Some much averse I found and wondrous harsh,  
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite ;  
 That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests :  
 Others more moderate seeming, but their aim  
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465

always had against public and establish'd religion. He might also perhaps in this description of Manoah's

application for Samson's deliverance glance at his own case after the Restoration.

They  
*Tbyer.*

They easily would set to sale : a third  
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd  
 They had enough reveng'd, having reduc'd  
 Their foe to misery beneath their fears,  
 The rest was magnanimity to remit, 1470  
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd.  
 What noise or shout was that ? it tore the sky.

## CHORUS.

Doubtless the people shouting to behold  
 Their once great dread, captive, and blind before them,  
 Or at some proof of strength before them shown,

## MANOAH.

His ransom, if my whole inheritance 1476  
 May compass it, shall willingly be paid  
 And number'd down : much rather I shall choose  
 To live the poorest in my tribe, than richest,  
 And he in that calamitous prison left. 1480  
 No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.  
 For his redemption all my patrimony,

If

1490. *It shall be my delight &c]*  
 The character of a fond parent is  
 extremely well supported in the  
 person of Manoah quite through  
 the whole performance ; but there  
 is in my opinion something parti-

cularly natural and moving in this  
 speech. The circumstance of the  
 old man's feeding and soothing  
 his fancy with the thoughts of  
 tending his son and contemplating  
 him ennobled with so many fa-  
 mous

If need be, I am ready to forgo  
And quit: not wanting him I shall want nothing.

CHORUS.

Fathers are wont to lay up for their sons, 1485  
Thou for thy son art bent to lay out all:  
Sons wont to nurse their parents in old age,  
Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy son  
Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.

MANOAH.

It shall be my delight to tend his eyes, 1490  
And view him sitting in the house, ennobled  
With all those high exploits by him achiev'd,  
And on his shoulders waving down those locks,  
That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd:  
And I persuade me God had not permitted 1495  
His strength again to grow up with his hair  
Garrison'd round about him like a camp  
Of faithful soldiery, were not his purpose  
To use him further yet in some great service,

Not

mous exploits is vastly expressive of the doating fondness of an old father. Nor is the poet less to be admir'd for his making Manoah under the influence of this pleasing imagination go still further,

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and flatter himself even with the hopes of God's restoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally arises in the mind in such a situation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominess and melancholy.

X

Thyer.



306 SAMSON AGONISTES.

Not to fit idle with so great a gift 1500  
 Useless, and thence ridiculous about him.  
 And since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,  
 God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.

CHORUS.

Thy hopes are not ill founded nor seem vain  
 Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505  
 Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,  
 In both which we, as next, participate.

MANOAH.

I know your friendly minds and --- O what noise!  
 Mercy of heav'n, what hideous noise was that!  
 Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

CHORUS.

Noise call you it or universal groan,  
 As if the whole inhabitation perish'd!

Blood,

1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded  
 nor seem vain  
 Of his delivery,*] This is very  
 proper and becoming the gravity  
 of the Chorus, as much as to in-  
 timate that his other hopes were  
 fond and extravagant. And the  
 art of the poet cannot be suffi-  
 ciently admired in raising the hopes  
 and expectations of his persons to  
 the highest pitch just before the  
 dreadful catastrophe. How great

and how sudden is the change from  
 good to bad! The one renders  
 the other more striking and af-  
 fecting.

1508. — *and — O what noise!*  
 &c.] It must be very pleasing to  
 the reader to observe with what  
 art and judgment Milton prepares  
 him for the relation of the cata-  
 strophe of this tragedy. This  
 abrupt start of Manoah upon hear-  
 ing

Blood, death, and deathful deeds are in that noise,  
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

MANOAH.

Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noise :  
Oh it continues, they have slain my son. 1516

CHORUS.

Thy son is rather slaying them, that outcry  
From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

MANOAH.

Some dismal accident it needs must be ;  
What shall we do, stay here or run and see? 1520

CHORUS.

Best keep together here, lest running thither  
We unawares run into danger's mouth.  
This evil on the Philistines is fall'n ;  
From whom could else a general cry be heard ?

The

ing the hideous noise, and the description of it by the Chorus in their answer, in terms so full of dread and terror, naturally fill the mind with a presaging horror proper for the occasion. This is still kept up by their suspense and reasoning about it, and at last raised to a proper pitch by the frightened and distracted manner of the Messenger's coming in, and his hesitation and backwardness in telling

what had happen'd. What gives it the greater strength and beauty is the sudden transition from that soothing and flattering prospect with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts to a scene so totally opposit. *Thyer.*

1512. — *inhabitation*] Οικουμένη.  
Richardson.

1514. — *at the utmost point.*]  
Al ultimo segno. *Richardson.*

X 2

1529. — *be*

The sufferers then will scarce molest us here, 1525  
 From other hands we need not much to fear.  
 What if his eye-sight (for to Israel's God  
 Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,  
 He now be dealing dole among his foes,  
 And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way? 1530

M A N O A H.

That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.

C H O R U S.

Yet God hath wrought things as incredible  
 For his people of old; what hinders now?

M A N O A H.

He can I know, but doubt to think he will;  
 Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.  
 A little stay will bring some notice hither. 1536

C H O R U S.

1529. — *be dealing dole*] Distributing his gifts and portions among his enemies, from a Saxon word says Skinner, but Mr. Upton in his remarks upon Ben. Johnson's three plays p. 31. derives the word *dole* from the Greek *απο το διδω*, distribuere. By the way we may observe, that the Chorus here entertains the same pleasing hope of Samson's *eye-sight* being by *miracle restor'd*, which he had before tacitly reprov'd in Manoah, and Manoah who had before en-

courag'd the same hope in himself, now desponds and reckons it *presumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, especially in any change of our situation and circumstances. Fear and hope usually succeed each other like ague and fever. And it was not a slight observation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have understood and describ'd the human passions so exactly.

1536. A



CHORUS.

Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner ;  
For evil news rides post, while good news baits.  
And to our wish I see one hither speeding,  
An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe. 1540

MESSENGER.

O whither shall I run, or which way fly  
The sight of this so horrid spectacle,  
Which erst my eyes beheld and yet behold ?  
For dire imagination still pursues me.  
But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545  
Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,  
To' have guided me aright, I know not how,  
To thee first reverend Manoah, and to these  
My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,

As

1536. *A little stay will bring  
some notice hither.*] The text  
of the first edition wants the nine  
lines preceding this, and the line  
that follows it: but they are sup-  
plied in the Errata. This line in  
that edition is in the part of the  
Chorus, as I think it ought to be:  
and so is the next but one, in that  
and all the editions; though it  
seems to belong rather to Manoah.  
The line between them, which is  
wanting (as I just now observed)  
in the text of the first edition, in

the Errata and in all the editions  
since is given to the Chorus, but  
the poet certainly intended both  
them and Manoah a share in it.

CHOR. A little stay will bring  
some notice hither  
Of good or bad so great. MAN. Of  
bad the sooner;  
For evil news rides post, while  
good news baits.

CHOR. And to our wish I see one  
hither speeding,  
An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our  
tribe. *Calton.*

310 SAMSON AGONISTES.

As at some distance from the place of horror, 1550  
So in the sad event too much concern'd.

M A N O A H.

The accident was loud, and here before thee  
With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not;  
No preface needs, thou see'st we long to know.

M E S S E N G E R.

It would burst forth, but I recover breath  
And sense distract, to know well what I utter. 1556

M A N O A H.

Tell us the sum, the circumstance defer.

M E S S E N G E R.

Gaza yet stands, but all her sons are fall'n,  
All in a moment overwhelm'd and fall'n.

M A N O A H.

Sad, but thou know'st to Israelites not saddest  
The desolation of a hostile city. 1561

M E S S E N G E R.

Feed on that first, there may in grief be surfeit.

M A N O A H.

1552. — *and here before thee*] Here again the old error was carefully preserved through all the editions. In the first edition it was printed *and heard before thee*; but we have corrected it, as Milton

himself corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the rest no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the sense greatly.

1554. *No preface needs,*] No preface

MANOAH.

Relate by whom.

MESSENGER.

By Samson.

MANOAH.

That still lessens  
The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy.

MESSENGER.

Ah Manoah, I refrain, too suddenly 1565  
To utter what will come at last too soon;  
Left evil tidings with too rude irruption  
Hitting thy aged ear should pierce too deep.

MANOAH.

Suspense in news is torture, speak them out.

MESSENGER.

Take then the worst in brief, Samson is dead.

MANOAH.

The worst indeed, O all my hope's defeated 1571  
To free him hence! but death who sets all free

Hath

face is wanting. *Needs* is a verb  
neuter here as in *Paradise Lost*  
X. 80. where see the note.

tive in Shakespear. *Julius Cæsar*  
Act 4. Sc. 4.

1556. *And sense distract.*] The  
word is used likewise as an adjec-

— With this she fell *distract*,  
And (her attendants absent) swal-  
low'd fire.

X 4

Twelfth.



312 SAMSON AGONISTES:

Hath paid his ranfome now and full discharge.  
 What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd  
 Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves 1575  
 Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring  
 Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost!  
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,  
 How dy'd he; death to life is crown or shame.  
 All by him fell thou say'st, by whom fell he, 1580  
 What glorious hand gave Samfon his death's wound?

M E S S E N G E R.

Unwounded of his enemies he fell.

M A N O A H.

Wearied with slaughter then or how? explain.

M E S S E N G E R.

By his own hands.

M A N O A H.

Twelfth-Night Act 5. Sc. 5.

They say, poor gentleman! he's  
 much *distract*.

1576. *Abortive as the first-born  
 bloom of spring &c.*] As Mr.  
 Thyer says, this similitude is to  
 be admired for its remarkable just-  
 ness and propriety: One cannot  
 possibly imagin a more exact and  
 perfect image of the dawning hope  
 which Manoah had conceived from  
 the favorable answer he had met

with from some of the Philistian  
 lords, and of its being so suddenly  
 extinguish'd by this return of ill  
 fortune, than that of the early  
 bloom, which the warmth of a  
 few fine days frequently pushes  
 forward in the spring, and then  
 it is cut off by an unexpected re-  
 turn of winterly weather. As  
 Mr. Warburton observes, this beau-  
 tiful passage seems to be taken  
 from Shakespear. Henry VIII. Act  
 3. Sc. 6.

This

SAMSON AGONISTES. 313

MANOAH.

Self-violence? what cause  
Brought him so soon at variance with himself 1585  
Among his foes?

MESSENGER.

Inevitable cause  
At once both to destroy and be destroy'd;  
The edifice, where all were met to see him,  
Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

MANOAH.

O lastly over-strong against thyself! 1590  
A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge.  
More than enough we know; but while things yet  
Are in confusion, give us if thou canst,  
Eye-witness of what first or last was done,

Relation

This is the state of man; to day  
he puts forth  
The tender leaves of hopes, to  
morrow blossoms,  
And bears his blushing honors  
thick upon him;  
The third day comes a frost, a  
killing frost;  
And when he thinks, good easy  
man, full surely  
His greatness is a ripening, nips  
his root;  
And then he falls, as I do. —

Upon which Mr. Warburton re-  
marks, that as spring-frosts are  
not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-  
trees, he should imagin the poet  
wrote *shoot*, that is, the tender  
*shoot* on which are the young  
*leaves* and *blossoms*. The compa-  
rison, as well as expression of *nips*,  
is juster too in this reading. Shake-  
spear has the same thought in  
Love's Labor Lost.

Byron is like an envious sneap-  
ing frost

That

Relation more particular and distinct.

4595

M E S S E N G E R.

Occasions drew me early to this city,  
And as the gates I enter'd with sun-rise,  
The morning trumpets festival proclam'd  
Through each high street: little I had dispatch'd,  
When all abroad was rumor'd that this day 1600  
Samson should be brought forth, to show the people  
Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games ;  
I sorrow'd at his captive state, but minded  
Not to be absent at that spectacle.

The

That bites the first-born infants  
of the spring.

See Warburton's Shakespear. Vol. 5.  
p. 413.

1596. *Occasions drew me early &c*] As I observed before, that Milton had with great art excited the reader's attention to this grand event, so here he is no less careful to gratify it by the relation. It is circumstantial, as the importance of it requir'd, but not so as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which should not appear redundant. The picture of Samson in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was addressing himself to that God who

had given him such a measure of strength, and was summing up all his force and resolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no less happy in the sublimity of his description of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumstances preceding it. The poetry rises as the subject becomes more interesting, and one may without rant or extravagance say, that the poet seems to exert no less force of genius in describing than Samson does strength of body in executing.

*Thyer.*

1604. — *absent at that spectacle*] The language would be more correct, if it was *absent from that spectacle*.

1605. *The building was a spacious theatre*

*Half-*



The building was a spacious theatre 1605  
 Half-round on two main pillars vaulted high,  
 With seats where all the lords and each degree  
 Of sort, might sit in order to behold;  
 The other side was open, where the throng  
 On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand; 1610  
 I among these aloof obscurely stood.  
 The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice  
 Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,  
 When to their sports they turn'd. Immediately  
 Was Samson as a public servant brought, 1615  
 In

*Half-round on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.]* Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful catastrophe, and has with great judgment obviated the common objection. It is commonly asked, how so great a building, containing so many thousands of people, could rest upon two pillars so near placed together: and to this it is answered, that instances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been supported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural history, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæsar's time; each of which was supported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge,

tho' very many thousands of people did sit in it together. See Poole's Annotations. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw in his travels observing upon the eastern method of building says, that the place where they exhibit their diversions at this day is an advanc'd cloyster, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else at the center, and that upon a supposition therefore that in the house of Dagon, there was a cloyster'd structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or center pillars only which supported it, would be attended with the like catastrophe that happen'd to the Philistines. See Shaw's travels. p. 283.

316 SAMSON AGONISTES.

In their state livery clad; before him pipes  
 And timbrels, on each side went armed guards,  
 Both horse and foot, before him and behind  
 Archers, and slingers, cataphraets and spears.  
 At sight of him the people with a shout 1620  
 Risted the air, clamoring their God with praise,  
 Who' had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.  
 He patient but undaunted where they led him,  
 Came to the place, and what was set before him,  
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625  
 To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd  
 All with incredible, stupendious force,  
 None daring to appear antagonist.  
 At length for intermission sake they led him  
 Between the pillars; he his guide requested 1630  
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)  
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while  
 With both his arms on those two massy pillars,  
 That to the arched roof gave main support.  
 He unsuspecting led him; which when Samson 1635  
 Felt

1619: — *cataphraets*] Men or horses completely arm'd, from *καταφρασις* armis munitio.

1649. *With horrible convulsion*]

In several editions it is printed *convulsion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Symphon, and every body saw that it should be *convulsion*, and so it is in Milton's

Felt in his arms, with head a while inclin'd,  
 And eyes fast fix'd he stood, as one who pray'd,  
 Or some great matter in his mind revolv'd:  
 At last with head erect thus cry'd aloud,  
 Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd 1640  
 I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,  
 Not without wonder or delight beheld:  
 Now of my own accord such other trial  
 I mean to show you of my strength, yet greater;  
 As with amaze shall strike all who behold. 1645  
 This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd,  
 As with the force of winds and waters pent,  
 When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars  
 With horrible convulsion to and fro, 1649  
 He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came and drew  
 The whole roof after them, with burst of thunder  
 Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,  
 Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,  
 Their choice nobility and flow'r, not only  
 Of this but each Philistian city round 1655  
 Met

Milton's own edition. And in the next line it should not be *He tugg'd*, *he took*, as it is absurdly in some editions, but *He tugg'd*, *he shook*, as in the first edition: and there are several passages which we have corrected by the help of the first edition, without taking notice of them. 1667. — in



318      SAMSON AGONISTES.

Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.  
 Samson with these immix'd, inevitably  
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself;  
 The vulgar only scap'd who stood without.

CHORUS.

O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious!      1660  
 Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd  
 The work for which thou wast foretold  
 To Israel, and now ly'st victorious  
 Among thy slain self-kill'd  
 Not willingly, but tangled in the fold      1665  
 Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd  
 Thee with thy slaughter'd foes in number more  
 Than all thy life had slain before.

SEMICHORUS.

While their hearts were jocond and sublime,  
 Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine,      1670  
 And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,  
 Chaunting their idol, and preferring  
 Before our living Dread who dwells

In

1667. — in number more than they which he slew in his life.  
 Than all thy life had slain before.] 1674. In Silo] Where the taber-  
 Judges XVI. 30. So the dead which nacle and ark were at that time.  
 he slew at his death, were more 1682. So fond are mortal men, &c.]  
 Agreeable

In Silo his bright sanctuary:  
 Among them he a spi'rit of phrenzy sent, 1675  
 Who hurt their minds,  
 And urg'd them on with mad desire  
 To call in haste for their destroyer;  
 They only set on sport and play  
 Unweeingly importun'd 1680  
 Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.  
 So fond are mortal men  
 Fall'n into wrath divine,  
 As their own ruin on themselves t' invite,  
 Insensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685  
 And with blindness internal struck.

SEMICHORUS.

But he though blind of sight,  
 Despis'd and thought extinguish'd quite,  
 With inward eyes illuminated,  
 His fiery virtue rous'd 1690  
 From under ashes into sudden flame,  
 And as an evening dragon came,

Affailant

Agreeable to the common maxim,  
 Quos Deus vult perdere dementat  
 prius. *Thyer.*  
 1692. *And as an evening dragon*

*came &c.]* Mr. Calton says that Mil-  
 ton certainly dictated  
 And not as an evening dragon  
 came.  
 Samson

Affailant on the perched roosts,  
 And nests in order rang'd  
 Of tame villatic fowl; but as an eagle 1695  
 His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.  
 So virtue giv'n for lost,  
 Depress'd, and overthrown, as seem'd,  
 Like that self-begotten bird  
 In the Arabian woods imboist, 1700  
 That no second knows nor third,  
 And lay ere while a holocaust,

From

Samson *did not* set upon them like an evening dragon; *but* darted ruin on their heads like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Symphon to the same purpose proposes to read

And *not* as evening dragon came  
 — *but* as an eagle &c.

Mr. Thyer understands it otherwise, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (says he) authorities enow from the naturalists to show that serpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is sufficient, and serves fully to justify this simile. Speaking of the food of serpents he says, Etenim aves, et potissimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur. Aldrov. de Serp. & Drac. Lib. 1. c. 3. It

is common enough among the ancient poets to meet with several similes brought in to illustrate one action, when one cannot be found that will hold in every circumstance. Milton does the same here, introducing this of the dragon merely in allusion to the order in which the Philistians were placed in the amphitheatre, and the subsequent one of the eagle to express the rapidity of that vengeance which Samson took of his enemies.

1695. — *villatic fowl*;] *Villaticas alites*, Plin. Lib. 23. Sect. 17.  
 Richardson.

1695. — *but as an eagle &c*] In the Ajax of Sophocles it is said that his enemies, if they saw him appear, would be terrify'd like birds at the appearance of the vultur or eagle. ver 167.

ΑΑΑ



From out her ashy womb now teem'd,  
Revives, re-florishes, then vigorous most  
When most unactive deem'd,  
And though her body die, her fame survives  
A secular bird ages of lives.

1705

MANOAH.

Come, come, no time for lamentation now,  
Nor much more cause ; Samson hath quit himself  
Like Samson, and heroically hath finish'd  
A life heroic, on his enemies

1710

Fully

Αλλ' οὐτ' ἄγε δὴ &c.

The Greek verses, I think, are faulty, and as I remember, are corrected not amiss by Dawes in his *Miscell. Critic.* *Jortin.*

1700. — *imboft.*] Conceal'd, cover'd. Spenser *Faery Queen.* B. 1. Cant. 3. St. 24.

A knight her met in mighty arms *imboft.*

*Richardson.*

1702. — *a holocaust*] An entire burnt-offering. Else generally only part of the beast was burnt.

*Richardson.*

1706. — *her fame survives*  
*A secular bird ages of lives.*] The construction and meaning of the whole period I conceive to be this, Virtue giv'n for lost, like the phoenix consum'd and now teem'd from

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out her ashy womb, revives, re-florishes, and though her body die which was the case of Samson, yet her fame survives a phoenix many ages : for the comma after *survives* in all the editions should be omitted, as Mr. Calton has observed as well as myself. The phoenix, says he, liv'd *a thousand years* according to some [See Bochart's *Hieroicoicon. Pars secunda. p. 817.*] and hence it is called here *a secular bird.* Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt ; per secula sex, id est annorum sex millia, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est. Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. 7. c. 14. The fame of virtue (the Semichorus faith) *survives*, outlives this *secular bird* many ages. The comma, which is in all the editions after *survives*, breaks the construction.

Y

1713.—&c

Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,  
 And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor  
 Through all Philistian bounds ; to Israel  
 Honor hath left, and freedom, but let them 1715  
 Find courage to lay hold on this occasion ;  
 To' himself and father's house eternal fame ;  
 And which is best and happiest yet, all this  
 With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,  
 But favoring and assisting to the end. 1720  
 Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail  
 Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,  
 Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,  
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.  
 Let us go find the body where it lies 1725  
 Sok'd in his enemies blood, and from the stream  
 With lavers pure and cleansing herbs wash off  
 The clotted gore. I with what speed the while  
 (Gaza is not in plight to say us nay)

Will

1713. — *to the sons of Caphtor*] *Caphtor* it should be, and not *Chap-*  
*tor* as in several editions: and *the*  
*sons of Caphtor* are Philistines, ori-  
 ginally of the island Caphtor or  
 Crete. The people were called  
 Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim,  
 and afterwards Cretians. A colony

of them settled in Palestine, and  
 there went by the name of Philis-  
 tim. *Meadowcourt.*

1730. *Will send for all my kin-*  
*dred, all my friends, &c.]* This  
 is founded upon what the Scrip-  
 ture saith, Judg. XVI. 31. which  
 the poet has finely improv'd. *Then*  
*his*

Will fend for all my kindred, all my friends, 1730  
 To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend  
 With silent obsequy and funeral train  
 Home to his father's house: there will I build him  
 A monument, and plant it round with shade  
 Of laurel ever green, and branching palm, 1735  
 With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd  
 In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.  
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,  
 And from his memory inflame their breasts  
 To matchless valor, and adventures high: 1740  
 The virgins also shall on feastful days  
 Visit his tomb with flow'rs, only bewailing  
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,  
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

CHORUS.

All is best, though we oft doubt, 1745  
 What th' unsearchable dispose  
 Of

*his brethren, and all the house of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father.*

1745. *All is best, though we oft doubt, &c]* There is a great

resemblance betwixt this speech of Milton's Chorus, and that of the Chorus in Æschylus's Supplikes, beginning at ver. 90.

Διὸς ἱμῶν ὡς ἐνδοκίμου  
 τρυχῶν  
 &c to ver. 109. Thyer.  
 Y 2 1755. His



Of highest wisdom brings about,  
 And ever best found in the close.  
 Oft he seems to hide his face,  
 But unexpectedly returns, 1750  
 And to his faithful champion hath in place  
 Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns  
 And all that band them to resist  
 His uncontrollable intent;  
 His servants he with new acquist 1755  
 Of true experience from this great event  
 With peace and consolation hath dismiss,  
 And calm of mind all passion spent.

1755. *His servants he with new acquist*] It is *his servant* in most of the editions, but the first edition has it rightly *his servants*, meaning the Chorus and other persons present. *Acquist*, the same as acquisition, a word that may be found in Skinner, but I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere.

1757. *With peace and consolation hath dismiss,*  
*And calm of mind all passion spent.*]

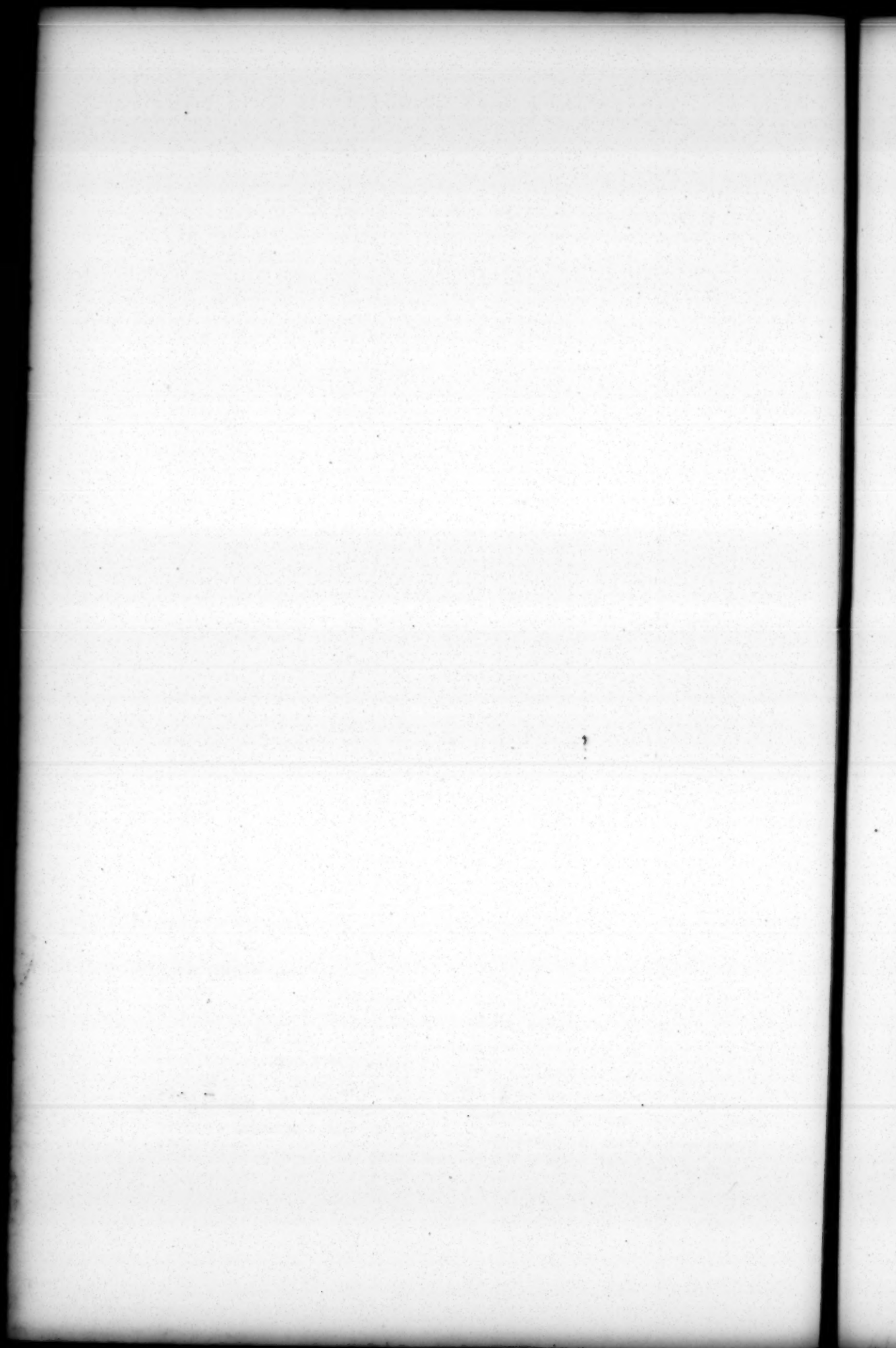
This moral lesson in the conclusion is very fine, and excellently suited to the beginning. For Milton had chosen for the motto to this piece a passage out of Aristotle, which may show what was his design in writing this tragedy, and the sense

of which he hath expressed in the preface, that "tragedy is of power  
 " by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those  
 " and such like passions, &c." and he exemplifies it here in Manoah and the Chorus, after their various agitations of passion, acquiescing in the divine dispensations, and thereby inculcating a most instructive lesson to the reader. As this work was not intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts, but if any critic should be disposed so to divide it, he may easily do it by beginning the second act at the entrance of Manoah, the third at the entrance of Dalila, the fourth at the entrance of Harapha, and the fifth at the entrance of the public Officer: but the stage

is never empty or without persons, according to the model of the best written tragedies among the Ancients. I have said in the life of Milton, that "Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide the Samson Agonistes into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster." And see what he says to that purpose in one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I hope you won't utterly forget what pass'd in the coach about Samson Agonistes. I shan't press you as to time, but some time

"or other, I wish you would review, and polish that piece. If upon a new perusal of it (which I desire you to make) you think as I do, that it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients; it deserves your care, and is capable of being improved, with little trouble, into a perfect model and standard of tragic poetry — always allowing for its being a story taken out of the Bible, which is an objection that at this time of day, I know is not to be got over."

THE END.





From MILTON'S Manuscript.

The Persons.

Michael  
Heavenly Love  
Chorus of Angels  
Lucifer  
Adam } with the Serpent  
Eve }  
Conscience  
Death  
Labor  
Sickness }  
Discontent } Mutes  
Ignorance }  
with others }  
Faith  
Hope  
Charity

The Persons.

Moses  
Divine Justice, Mercy, Wisdom,  
Heavenly Love  
Hesperus the Evening Star  
Chorus of Angels  
Lucifer  
Adam  
Eve  
Conscience  
Labor  
Sickness }  
Discontent } Mutes  
Ignorance }  
Fear  
Death  
Faith  
Hope  
Charity

Other Tragedies.

ADAM in BANISHMENT.

The FLOOD.

ABRAM in EGYPT.

PARADISE LOST.

The Persons.

Moses *προλογίζετο*, recounting  
how he assum'd his true body ; that  
it corrupts not, because of his  
[abode] with God in the mount ;  
declares the like of Enoch and  
Elijah ; besides the purity of the  
place, that certain pure winds,  
dews, and clouds preserve it from  
corruption ; whence exhorts to the  
fight of God ; tells they cannot see  
Adam in the state of innocence by  
reason of their sin.

Justice } debating what should  
Mercy } become of Man, if  
Wisdom } he fall.  
Chorus of Angels sing a hymn  
of the creation.

Act II.

Heavenly Love.  
Evening Star.  
Chorus sing the marriage song,  
and describe Paradise.

Act III.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruin.  
Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act IV.

Adam } fallen.  
Eve }

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam hath lost.

Act V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise:

Presented by an Angel with  
Labor, Grief, Hatred  
Envy, War, Famine, Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death enter'd into the world,

to whom he gives their names: likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.

Faith } comfort him and instruct him.  
Hope }  
Charity }

Chorus briefly concludes.

The Deluge. Sodom.  
Dinah. Vide Euseb. Præparat.  
Evang. L. 9. C. 22.

The Persons.

Dinah.		Hamor.
Debora.	} Rebecca's nurse	Sichem.
Jacob.		Counselors 2.
Simeon.		Nuncius.
Levi.		Chorus.

Thamar Cuophorusa, where Judah is found to have been the author of that crime, which he condemn'd in Thamar. Thamar excused in what she attempted.

The Golden Calf, or the Massacre in Horeb

The Quails, Num. 11.

The Murmurers, Num. 14.

Corah, Dathan, &c. Num. 16.

17.

Moabitides, Num. 25.

Achan, Josue 7 and 8.

Josuah in Gibeon, Jos. 10.

Gideon Idoloclastes, Jud. 6, 7.

Gideon pursuing, Jud. 8.

Abimelech the Usurper, Jud. 9.

Samson pursu'd by Philistines, or Samson marrying or in Ramath Lechi, Jud. 15.

Dagonalia Jud. 16.

Comazontes, or the Benjaminites, or the Rioters, Jud. 19, 20, 21.

Theristria, a pastoral out of Ruth.

Eliada, Hophni and Phinehas, Sam. 1, 2, 3, 4, beginning with the first overthrow of Israel by the Philistines, interlac'd with Samuel's vision concerning Eli's family.

Jonathan rescued, Sam. 1. 14.

Doeg slandering, Sam. 1. 22.

The Sheepshearers in Carmel, a pastoral, 1 Sam. 25.

Saul in Gilboa, 1 Sam. 28. 31.

David revolted, 1 Sam. from the 27 c. to the 31.

David adulterous, 2 Sam. c. 11, 12.

Tamar, 2 Sam. 13.

Achitophel, 2 Sam. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Adoniah, 1 Reg. 2.

Solomon Gynæocratumenus, or Idolomargus, aut Thyfiazusæ. Reg. 1. 11.

Rehoboam, 1 Reg. 12. where is disputed of a politic religion.

Abias Thersæus. 1 Reg. 14. The queen after much dispute, as the last

last refuge sent to the prophet Ahias of Shilo; receives the message. The Epitafis in that she hearing the child shall die as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the sick prince forth as it were desirous to shift his chamber and couch as dying men use, his father telling him what sacrifice he had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearlessness of death, and putting his father in mind to set [send] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the elders of Israel, bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondring why Jeroboam being bad himself should so grieve for his son that was good, &c.

Imbres, or the Showers, 1 Reg. 18, 19.

Naboth συκοφάντης, 1 Reg. 21.

Ahab, 1 Reg. 22. beginning at the synod of false prophets; ending with relation of Ahab's death; his body brought; Zedechiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. (See Lavater, 2 Chron. 18.)

Elias in the mount, 2 Reg. 1. Ὀρεβάτης, or better, Elias Polemistes.

Elifæus Hydrochoos, 2 Reg. 3. Hydrophantes, Aquator.

Elifæus Adorodocétas.

Elifæus Minutes, five in Dothaimis, 2 Reg. 6.

Samaria Liberata, 2 Reg. 7.

Ahabæi Cunoboromeni, 2 Reg. 9. The scene Jesrael: beginning from the watchman's discovery of Jehu till he go out: in the mean while, message of things passing brought to Jezebel, &c. Lastly the 70 heads of Ahab's sons brought

in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on the way, c. 10.

Jehu Belicola, 2 Reg. 10.

Athaliah, 2 Reg. 11.

Amaziah Doryalotus, 2 Reg. 14. 2 Chron. 25.

Hezechias σωλιερύμενος, 2 Reg. 18, 19. Hefechia besieged. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, spoken of in the 11, or thereabout of Ifaiah, and the commendation of Eliakim will afford αφορμας λόγου, together with a faction, that sought help from Egypt.

Josiah Αιαζόμενος, 2 Reg. 23.

Zedechiah νεοτιρίζων, 2 Reg. but the story is larger in Jeremiah.

Solymus Halosis; which may begin from a message brought to the city, of the judgment upon Zedechiah and his children in Ribla, and so seconded with the burning and destruction of city and temple by Nebuzaradan; lamented by Jeremiah.

Afa or Æthiopes, 2 Chron. 14. with the deposing his Mother, and burning her idol.

The three Children, Dan. 3.

British. Trag.

1. The cloister king Constans set up by Vortiger.

2. Vortiger poison'd by Roena.

3. Vortiger immured.

The three following were added afterwards in the margin.

Venutius husband to Cartismandua.

Vortiger marrying Roena. See Speed. reprov'd by Vordin archbishop of London. Speed.

The



The massacre of the Britons by Hengist in their cups at Salisbury plain. Malmesbury.

4. Sigher of the East-Saxons revolted from the faith, and reclaim'd by Jarumang.

5. Ethelbert of the East-Angles slain by Offa the Mercian. See Holinsh. L. 6. c. 5. Speed in the Life of Offa and Ethelbert.

6. Sebert slain by Penda after he had left his kingdom. See Holinshed, 116. p.

7. Wulfer slaying his two sons, for being Christians.

8. Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of Bernbocard, and the Danes brought in. See Stow. Holinsh. L. 6. c. 12. and especially Speed, L. 8. c. 2.

9. Edmund last king of the East-Angles martyr'd by Hinguar the Dane. See Speed, L. 8. c. 2.

10. Sigebert, tyrant of the West-Saxons slain by a Swineherd.

11. Edmund brother of Athelstan slain by a thief at his own table. Malmesb.

12. Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust depriv'd of his kingdom, or rather by faction of Monks, whom he hated; together with the impostor Dunstan.

13. Edward son of Edgar murder'd by his step-mother. To which may be inserted the tragedy stirr'd up betwixt the Monks and Priests about marriage.

14. Etheldred, son of Edgar, a slothful king, the ruin of his land by the Danes.

15. Ceaulin, king of West-Saxons, for tyranny depos'd, and banish'd, and dying.

16. The slaughter of the Monks of Bangor by Edelfride stirr'd up,

as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austin the Monk, because the Britons would not receive the rites of the Roman Church. See Bede, Geoffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed, p. 104. which must begin with the Convocation of British Clergy by Austin to determin superfluous points, which by them was refused.

17. Edwin by vision promis'd the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion, and therein establish'd by Rodoald king of East-Angles.

18. Oswin king of Deira slain by Oswie his friend king of Bernitia, through instigation of flatterers. See Holinshed, p. 115.

19. Sigibert of the East-Angles keeping company with a person excommunicated, slain by the same man in his house, according as the bishop Cedda had foretold.

20. Egfride king of the Northumbrians slain in battle against the Picts, having before wasted Ireland, and made war for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English; forewarn'd also by Cuthbert not to fight with the Picts.

21. Kinewulf, king of West-saxons, slain by Kineard in the house of one of his concubines.

22. Gunthildis, the Danish lady, with her husband Palingus, and her son, slain by appointment of the traitor Edrick in king Ethelred's days. Holinshed, 7. L. c. 5. together with the massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.

23. Brightrick of West-saxons poison'd by his wife Ethelburge Offa's daughter, who dies miserably also in beggary after adultery in a nunnery. Speed in Bithrick.

24. Alfred

24. Alfred in disguise of a minstrel discovers the Danes negligence, sets on with a mighty slaughter; about the same time the Devonshire men rout Hubba and slay him.

A Heroical poem may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reign, especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes, whose actions are well like those of Ulysses.

25. Althestan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repenting.

26. Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing, wherein may be set out his pride, lust, which he thought to close by favoring Monks and building Monasteries: also the disposition of woman in Elfrida toward her husband.

27. Swane besieging London, and Ethelred repuls'd by the Londoners.

28 Harold slain in battel by William the Norman. The first scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of Ethelred, slain in cruel manner by Godwin Harold's father, his mother and brother dissuading him.

29. Edmond Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford, with his combat with Canute.

30. Edmund Ironside murder'd by Edrick the traitor, and reveng'd by Canute.

31. Gunilda, daughter to king Canute and Emma, Wife to Henry the third Emperor, accus'd of in-chastity, is defended by her English page in combat against a giant-like adversary; who by him at two blows is slain, &c. Speed in the Life of Canute.

32. Hardiknute dying in his cups, an example to riot.

33. Edward Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife Editha, Godwin's daughter; wherein is showed his over-affection to strangers the cause of Godwin's insurrection, wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel prais'd, and the English moderation on both sides magnified. His slackness to redress the corrupt clergy, and superstitious pretence of chastity.

ABRAM from Morea, or ISAAC redeem'd.

The Oeconomy may be thus. The fifth or sixth day after Abraham's departure, Eleazer Abram's steward, first alone, and then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voyage, their mistress sorrow and perplexity accompanied with frightful dreams; and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah herself; after the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar; next some shepherd or company of merchants passing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah what they saw. Hence lamentation, fears, wonders: the matter in the mean while divulg'd. Aner or Eschol, or Mamre Abram's confederates come to the house of Abram to be more certain, or to bring news; in the mean while discoursing as the world would of such an action divers ways, bewailing the fate of so noble a man fallen from his reputation, either through divine justice, or superstition, or coveting  
to

to 'o some notable act through  
zeal. At length a servant sent  
from Abram relates the truth ; and  
last he himself comes with a great  
train of Melchizedeck, whose shep-  
herds being secret eye-witnesses of  
all passages had related to their  
master, and he conducted his friend  
Abraham home with joy.

#### BAPTISTES.

The Scene, the Court.

Beginning from the morning of  
Herod's birth-day.

Herod by some Counsellor per-  
suaded \* on his birth-day to re-  
lease John Baptist, purposes it,  
causes him to be sent for to the  
court from prison. The Queen  
hears of it, takes occasion to pass  
where he is, on purpose, that under  
pretence of reconciling to him,  
or seeking to draw a kind retraction  
from him of his censure on  
the marriage ; to which end she  
sends a courtier before to sound  
whether he might be persuaded to  
mitigate his sentence, which not  
finding, she herself craftily assays,  
and on his constancy founds an  
accusation to Herod of a contu-  
macious affront on such a day be-  
fore many peers, prepares the king  
to some passion, and at last by her  
daughter's dancing effects it. There  
may prologize the Spirit of Philip,  
Herod's brother. It may also be  
thought, that Herod had well be-  
dew'd himself with wine, which  
made him grant the easier to his

wives daughter. Some of his dis-  
ciples also, as to congratulate his  
liberty, may be brought in, with  
whom after certain command of  
his death many compassioning  
words of his disciples, bewailing  
his youth cut off in his glorious  
course, he telling them his work is  
done, and wishing them to follow  
Christ his master.

#### SODOM.

The title, Cupid's funeral pile.  
Sodom burning.

The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus consists of Lot's  
shepherds come to the city about  
some affairs await in the evening  
their master's return from his  
evening walk toward the city-  
gates. He brings with him two  
young men or youths of noble  
form. After likely discourses pre-  
pares for their entertainment. By  
then supper is ended, the gallantry  
of the town pass by in procession  
with music and song to the temple  
of Venus Urania or Peor, and un-  
derstanding of two noble stran-  
gers arriv'd, they send two of their  
choicest youth with the priest to  
invite them to their city solemn-  
ties, it being an honor that their  
city had decreed to all fair per-  
sonages, as being sacred to their  
Goddeſs. The Angels being askt  
by the priest whence they are, say  
they are of Salem ; the priest in-  
veighs against the strict reign of  
Melchizedec. Lot, that knows their

\* Or else the Queen may plot under pretence of begging for his liberty, to seek  
to draw him into a snare by his freedom of speech.

drift,



drift, answers thwartly at last, of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither, tax him of presumption, singularity, breach of city-customs; in fine, after violence, the Chorus of shepherds prepare resistance in their master's defense, calling the rest of the servitude; but being forc'd to give back, the Angels open the door, rescue Lot, discover themselves, warn him to gather his friends and sons in law out of the city. He goes and returns, as having met with some incredulous. Some other friend or son in law out of the way, when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know his business. Here is disputed of incredulity of divine judgments, and such like matter: at last is described the parting from the city; the Chorus depart with their master; the Angels do the deed with all dreadful execution; the King and Nobles of the city may come forth, and serve to set out the terror; a Chorus of Angels concluding, and the Angels relating the event of Lot's journey and of his wife. The first Chorus beginning, may relate the course of the city each evening every one with mistress or Ganymed, glittering along the streets, or solacing on the banks of Jordan, or down the stream. At the priest's inviting the Angels to the solemnity, the Angels pitying their beauty may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust, seeking to win them. In the last scene, to the King and Nobles, when the fierce thunders begin aloft, the Angel appears all girt with flames, which

he saith are the flames of true love, and tells the King, who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's, i. e. Gener, Lot's son in law, for despising the continual admonitions of Lot: then calling to the thunders, lightnings, and fires, he bids them hear the call and command of God to come and destroy a godless nation: he brings them down with some short warning to other nations to take heed.

Christ born.

Herod massacring, or Rachel weeping, Matt. II.

Christ bound.

Christ crucifi'd.

Christ risen.

Lazarus. Joan. XI.

#### ADAM UNPARADIS'D.

The Angel Gabriel either descending or entering, showing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on Earth, as in Heaven: describes Paradise. Next the Chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God, and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, Man. The Angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of Man, as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself,

himself, seeks revenge on Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs; whereat the Chorus sings of the battel, and victory in Heaven against him and his accomplices; as before, after the first Act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer relating and insulting in what he had done to the destruction of Man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduc'd by the serpent appears confusedly cover'd with leaves. Conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place, whither Jehovah call'd for him. In the mean while the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some Angel the manner of his fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall. Adam then and Eve return, accuse one another, but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offense. Justice appears; reasons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence. The Angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise; but before causes to pass before his eyes in shapes a Mask of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, despairs; at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs him; he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught.

Scotch Stories, or rather British of the North parts.

**ATHIRCO** slain by Natholochus, whose daughter he had ravish'd, and this Natholochus usurping thereon the kingdom, seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire against him. He sends to a witch to know the event. The witch tells the messenger, that he is the man shall slay Natholochus: he detests it, but in his journey home changes his mind, and performs it. *Scotch Chron. English, p. 68, 69.*

**DUFFE** and **DONWALD**, a strange story of witchcraft, and murder discover'd and reveng'd. *Scotch Story, 149, &c.*

**HAIE**, the Plowman, who with his two sons that were at plough running to the battel that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, staid the flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battel, and caus'd the victory, &c. *Scotch Story, p. 155.*

**KENNETH**, who having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe, that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella. *Scotch Hist. p. 157, 158, &c.*

**MACBETH**, beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express'd by the appearing of his ghost.

**MOABITIDES OF PHINEAS.**

The Epitafis whereof may lie in the contention, first between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have slain his son

son without law: Next, the embassadors of the Moabites expostulating about Cosbi a stranger and a noble woman slain by Phineas. It may be argued about reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were by tumult: after all arguments driv'n home, then the word of the Lord may be brought acquitting and approving Phineas.

#### CHRISTUS PATIENS.

The scene in the garden beginning from the coming thither till Judas betrays, and the officers lead him away. The rest by message and Chorus. His agony may receive noble expressions.

The end of the First Volume.

